

JAN 12 '54

VOLUME XLIV • NUMBER 4

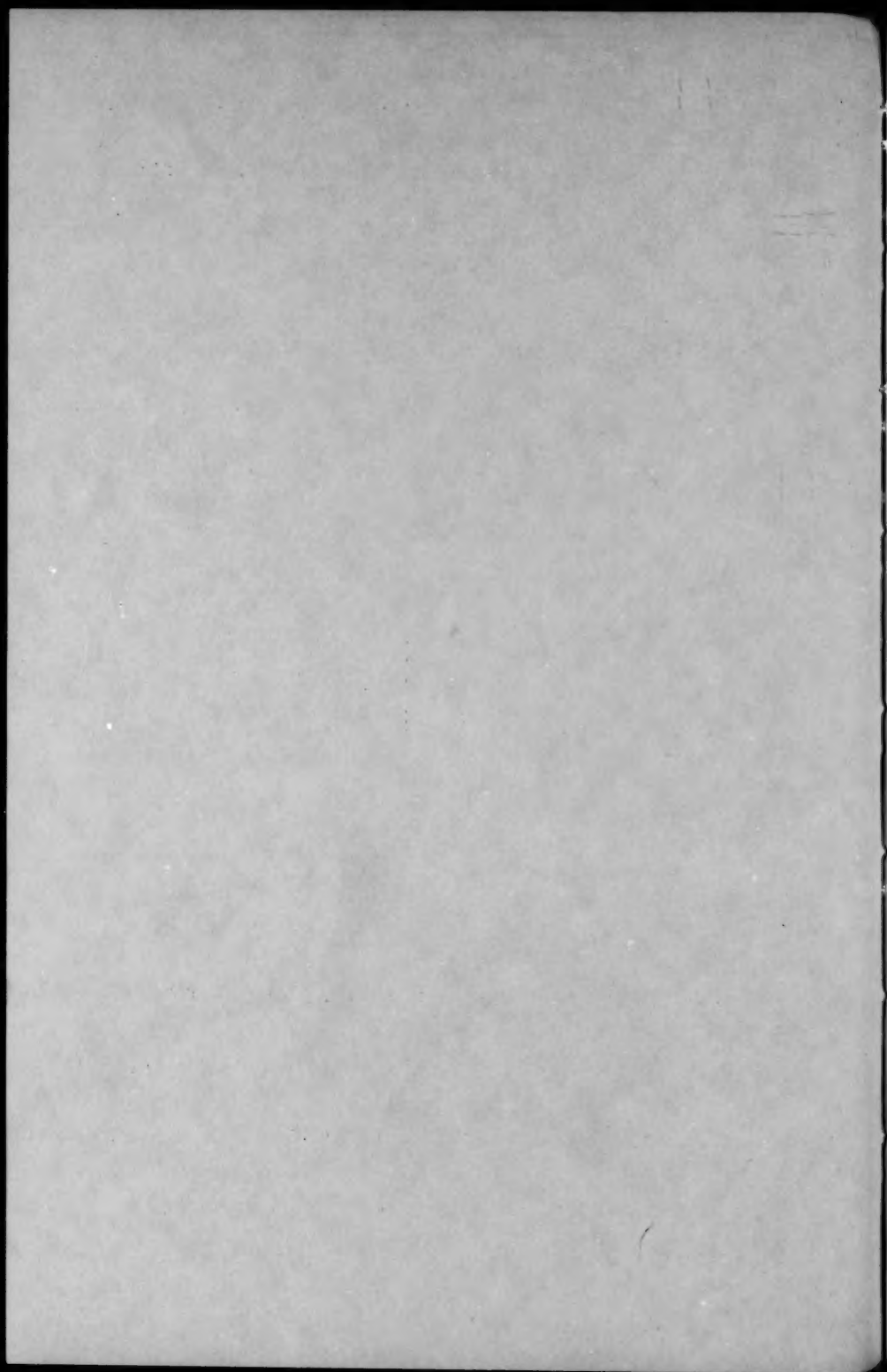
December 1953

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF
ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS • PUBLISHER



THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION

NORMAN L. TORREY, *General Editor*

JEAN-ALBERT BÉDÉ

TOMÁS NAVARRO

DINO BIGONGIARI

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

ENRICO DE' NEGRI

FEDERICO DE ONÍS

NATHAN EDELMAN

LAWTON P. G. PECKHAM

OTIS FELLOWS

MARIO A. PEI

DONALD M. FRAME

JEANNE VARNEY PLEASANTS

W. M. FROHOCK

JAMES F. SHEARER

JEAN HYTTIER

EDWARD WILLIAMSON

CARL A. VIGGIANI, *Managing Editor*

VOLUME XLIV

DECEMBER 1953

NUMBER 4

ARTICLES

- Love Conventions in Marie's *Equitan* D. W. ROBERTSON, JR. 241
- A Trend in Renaissance Thought and Art: Poliziano's *Stanze per la Giostra* ARNOLFO B. FERRUOLO 246
- The Case of Lope de Vega's *Amar, servir y esperar* (A Problem of Literary Relationships) J. H. ARJONA 257
- Sainte-Beuve (1824-1830): Critic and Creator CARL A. VIGGIANI 263
- The Surrealist Image ANNA BALAKIAN 273
- La Durée de la valeur stylistique du néologisme MICHEL RIFFATERRE 282

REVIEWS

- Holger Petersen Dýggve, *Gace Brulé, trouvère champenois: Edition critique des chansons et étude historique*. [HARRY F. WILLIAMS] 290
- Alexandre Nicolaï, *Les Belles Amies de Montaigne*. [DONALD M. FRAME] 293
- Mgr. Georges Grente, editor, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le seizième Siècle*. [DONALD M. FRAME] 295
- Jean Guéhenno, *Jean-Jacques (1758-1778): Grandeur et misère d'un esprit*. [NORMAN L. TORREY] 297

Jules C. Alciatore, <i>Stendhal et Helvétius: Les Sources de la philosophie de Stendhal</i> . [OTIS FELLOWS]	299
Jean Hytier, <i>La Poétique de Valéry</i> . [MARGARET GILMAN]	302
Index	308

THE ROMANIC REVIEW is published four times a year (February-April-October-December) by Columbia University Press, Mt. Royal and Guilford Aves., Baltimore 2, Md. Single copies \$1.25 (foreign \$1.35); \$5.00 a year (foreign, including Canada, \$5.30). Subscribers should notify the publisher of change of address at least three weeks before publication of issue with which change is to take effect. Entered as second-class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Md., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1954 by Columbia University Press.

Manuscripts, editorial communications and books for review should be addressed to Professor Norman L. Torrey, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York City. THE REVIEW will not be responsible for the return of manuscripts unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. For all questions regarding preparation of manuscripts and printing style, consult the "Notes for Contributors" at the end of the February issue.

All communications of a business nature should be addressed to Columbia University Press, Mt. Royal and Guilford Aves., Baltimore 2, Md., or 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

LOVE CONVENTIONS IN MARIE'S *EQUITAN*

By D. W. Robertson, Jr.

ALTHOUGH IT IS CLEAR that Marie's *Lais* reflect a variety of attitudes toward love, and that she was concerned with love of various kinds, some of which are not easy to define precisely, her description of love in *Equitan* is specific enough to enable us to draw certain conclusions from it. In 1933 Hoepffner published a study of the poem in which he concluded: "Nous pensons qu'en le faisant Marie a entendu prononcer une condamnation sévère de cet amour qui n'est motivé par rien que par le simple désir sensuel. . . . Tel est donc l'amour qui entraîne les amants au péché et au crime."¹ Elsewhere, in the preliminary discussion, the conception of love which Marie condemns is associated with that developed by the troubadours.² But in 1944 Ewert objected that Marie's "didactic and moralizing intention was perhaps hardly as conscious and clear-cut as Hoepffner presents it." He observed, somewhat unhistorically, that Marie set forth "a conception which comes much closer to 'la passion' of Racine than to the 'amour courtois' of the Troubadours."³ Leaving the question of the troubadours to one side, I wish to show here that both the characteristics of sensual love as Marie describes it in *Equitan* and her attitude toward that love are commonplaces of twelfth-century thought, so that Hoepffner's perception of a moral attitude in this *lai* was probably correct.

It has been pointed out that the prologue to Marie's *Lais* shows a considerable awareness of more or less learned traditions.⁴ It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that she may have known something of clerical ideas concerning sensual love. During the latter part of the twelfth century by far the most popular learned discussion of human love was the *De spirituali amicitia* of Ailred of Rievaulx. The definition of sensual love in this treatise runs as follows:

Verum amicitiae carnalis exordium ab affectione procedit, quae instar meretricis divaricat pedes suos omni transeunti, sequens aures et oculos suos per varia forni-

1. "Le Lai d'*Equitan* de Marie de France," *A Miscellany of Studies . . . Presented to L. E. Kastner* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 301. Hoepffner calls attention to a similar unfavorable attitude toward sensual love in Chrétien and in Marcabru. These comparisons, I think, are just, although their validity has been obscured by recent generalizations concerning "courtly love."

2. *Ibid.*, p. 298. It seems to me unwise to include the varieties of love treated by the troubadours under a single type. See "*Amors de terra lonhdana*," *SP*, XLIX (1952), 567, n. 9. Hoepffner himself makes an exception of Marcabru.

3. Marie de France, *Lais* (Oxford, 1944), note on pp. 168-169. It is possible that Ewert's attitude toward Marie's intention might have been altered somewhat if he had been able to use Spitzer's article, "The Prologue to the *Lais* of Marie de France and Medieval Poetics," *MP*, XLI (1943), 96-102. See Ewert's note at the bottom of p. 163. Quotations from Marie in the present article follow Ewert's text.

4. See the article by Spitzer referred to above and my note, "Marie de France, *Lais*, Prologue, 13-16," *MLN*, LXIV (1949), 336-338.

cantes; per quorum aditus usque ad ipsam mentem pulchrorum corporum, vel rerum voluptuosarum inferuntur imagines: quibus ad libitum frui, putat esse beatum; sed sine socio frui, minus aestimat esse jucundum. Tunc motu, nutu, verbis, obsequiis, animus ab anime captivatur, et accenditur unus ab altero, et conflantur in unum: ut inito foedere miserabili, quidquid sceleris, quidquid sacrilegii est, alter agat et patiat pro altero; nihilque hac amicitia dulcius arbitrantur, nihil iudicant justius: idem velle, et idem nolle, sibi existimantes amicitiae legibus imperari.⁵

With only a few verbal changes this definition reappears in a condensation of Ailred's work which carried such authority in the twelfth century that it was attributed to St. Augustine.⁶ Peter of Blois defines the same kind of love in much the same way, revealing an obvious indebtedness to Ailred:

Sane amor ex carne proveniens sequitur aures et oculos suos per varia fornicantes, atque per eorum aditus usque ad ipsam mentem rerum concupiscibilium imaginem introducit. Sic more meretricio divaricat pedes suos omniumque spiritum immundorum spurcitiae se exponit, productionis vitae sibi spatium pollicetur. Contemnit terribilia Dei iudicia, et hoc solum vitae suae ascribit, quod indulget extraordinariae voluptati.

Sicque animus aspectibus impudicis, verbis et nutibus, et obsequiis illectus et attractus, in malum miserabiliter captivatur; dumque duae mentes quodam foedere foedo in una voluntate conflantur, quod odibilis est Deo et animae perniciosius operantes, se infelices omnia lege amicitiae facere arbitrantur.⁷

This love is not the fruit of serious deliberation, is not tested by judgment, and is not ruled by reason. It knows no measure but proceeds without discretion:

Haec itaque amicitia nec deliberatione suscipitur, nec iudicio probatur, nec regitur ratione; sed secundum impetum affectionis per diversa raptatur; non modum servans, non honesta procurans, non commoda incommodave prospiciens; sed ad omnia inconsiderate, indiscrete, leviter, immoderateque progrediens.⁸

The essential elements in Ailred's definition reappear in the definition of love at the beginning of the *De amore* of Andreas Capellanus.⁹ It is fairly

5. PL, CXCIV, 665. The word *affectio* in the first sentence should be translated "state of mind" rather than "affection," which has connotations in English not implied in the Latin.

6. See PL, XL, 833. Peter of Blois attributes this work to Augustine. See M.-M. Davy, *Un Traité de l'amour du XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1932), pp. 140, 142.

7. Davy, p. 130. In general, Peter of Blois depends heavily on Ailred's *De spirituali amicitia* and on his *Speculum caritatis*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 34, n. 2.

8. These are Ailred's words, *loc. cit.* The other two treatises follow them closely, so that it is not necessary to quote them also.

9. See the *De amore*, ed. Trojel, p. 3. Ailred says that love has its origin in a state of mind; Andreas calls it "innata." In Andreas' definition, as in Ailred's, love proceeds from the stimulation of the senses. Then the lover forms an image or series of images of his beloved in his mind. Finally, the lovers are joined in a desire to fulfil the "laws of friendship" or the "precepts of love." Except for the expression "immoderata cogitatione," Andreas does not use Ailred's condemnatory language, but the pattern of his definition unmistakably resembles that of Ailred's definition.

certain, therefore, that the definition was a commonplace in clerical circles at the time Marie wrote.¹⁰

In the dramatic elaboration of the story of Equitan which may be considered as Marie's peculiar contribution to it,¹¹ reflections of ideas in these definitions of sensual love are not difficult to find. King Equitan is, in the first place, a man whose *affectio* is receptive to stimulation through the ears and eyes:

Deduit amout e drüerie:
16 Pur ceo maintint chevalerie.
Cil metent lur vie en nuncure
Que d'amur n'unt sen e mesure;
Tels est la mesure de amer
Que nul n'i deit reisun garder.

He does not guide himself by reason or measure but uses his love of pleasure and sexual satisfaction as a source of "chivalry." In this context the idea of chivalry probably has much the same ironic implication that it has in the *Lai dou lecheor*, but Marie does no more than hint at what is there expressed with cynical forthrightness.¹² The king's ears are soon stimulated when he hears of the beauty of his seneschal's wife. Without seeing her, he responds eagerly to what he has heard:

Li reis l'oï sovent loër.
Soventefez la salua,
40 De ses aveirs li enveia;
Sanz veüe la coveita,
E cum ainz pot a li parla.

Once the image of the lady's "gent cors" and "bele faiture" is firmly implanted through the ears, Equitan becomes anxious to satisfy his eyes.¹³ When he does so, he is wounded to the heart by the arrow of love. This is a figurative way of saying that the image of the lady's beauty passed from the

10. Ailred's work as a whole was designed to form a Christian counterpart to Cicero's *De amicitia*. It is not improbable that ideas quite similar to those expressed by Ailred became associated with Cicero's essay in medieval academic circles.

11. Cf. Hoepffner, p. 295. It is not necessary to confine Marie's contributions to lines 1-190. Perhaps rather she made whatever alterations were necessary to form of her original materials "une mout bele conjointure."

12. See Gaston Paris, "Lais inédits," *Romania*, VIII (1879), 65-66. For the ideal underlying the social satire in this poem, see John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* (ed. Webb), VI, 11; *Carmen de bello Levensi* (ed. Kingsford), lines 165 ff. An element of literary satire as well as social satire in the *Lai dou lecheor* has been suggested by Mortimer J. Donovan, *Romanic Review*, XLIII (1952), 81-86. This theory is especially helpful in accounting for some of the formal elements in the poem.

13. Love as a result of mere description is a folk-tale motif (T 11.1), but authors of Marie's sophistication do not usually use materials of this kind without purpose, or simply for the sake of preserving a story. In beginning with the ears Marie was probably following Ailred's description of carnal love or some later description based on it.

eye into the mind, where it remained fixed. Having followed his ears and eyes, the king spends a sleepless night nursing his conscience and contemplating his proposed conquest.

Equitan's conscience is disturbed by one thought: the love he feels for his seneschal's wife is contrary to the love he owes his seneschal:

72 Ceo est la femme al seneschal.
Garder li dei amur e fei,
Si cum jeo voil k'il face a mei.

The king's lecherous inclinations are thus, as he realizes, contrary to his feudal obligations and to the second precept of charity.¹⁴ What he proposes to do is, in Ailred's language, plainly "wicked" and "impious." And his rationalization to excuse it is, to say the least, cynical:

Si bele dame tant mar fust,
80 S'ele n'amast u dru etist!
Que devendreit sa curteisie,
S'ele n'amast de drüerie?

The lady is so beautiful that it would be a shame if she did not engage in an adulterous love. Moreover, she would have no "courtesy" unless she loved. The courtesy Equitan seeks in his lady is not that frequently ascribed to the Blessed Virgin and her imitators but rather that described in the "cortois e bon" *Lai dou lecheor* or in the *Du C.* of Gautier le Leu.¹⁵ It is an appropriate companion to his own "chivalry." When the lady makes her first refusal on the grounds of social inequality, the king at once questions her courtesy (151-162). However, he promises that he will become her man and "ami," turning the feudal relationship between them upside down. And he will, of course, die if she refuses:

14. Feudal amity between lord and vassal had been traditionally associated with divine love. E.g., see F. L. Ganshof, *Qu'est-ce que la féodalité?* (Brussels, 1947), pp. 49-51. What was implied by "faith" is described, *ibid.*, pp. 103-104. Cf. Marc Bloch, *La Société féodale: la formation des liens de dépendance* (Paris, 1949), pp. 354-361. The discussion in John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, IV, 3, is relevant here. In Carolingian times, adultery with a vassal's wife was considered an act of treason and was probably still so regarded in the twelfth century. See Ganshof, p. 46. A king especially was supposed to forego personal satisfaction in order to maintain a bond of charity with his people. See *Carmen de bello Lewensi*, ll. 909 ff.

15. The latter poem is printed by C. H. Livingston, *Le Jongleur Gautier Le Leu* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 238-249. The editor's remark, pp. 237-238, that this poem is "une expression singulière de la philosophie de la nature traitée amplement par Jean de Meung dans le *Roman de la Rose*" shows, it seems to me, an insensitivity to Gautier's ironic humor and may also be too severe on Jean de Meung. Since he took the trouble to translate Ailred's *De spirituali amicitia* Jean de Meung must have had at least some regard for its principles. On true and false courtesy, cf. Dante, *Convivio*, II, xi. The use of false courtesy as a veil for irregularities is amusingly illustrated in Chaucer's description of Symkyn the miller: "For therbiforn he stal but curteisly, / But now he was a thief outrageously." Cf. "Chaucerian Tragedy," *ELH*, XIX (1952), p. 18.

Ne me laissez pur vus murir!
 Vus seiez dame e jeo servant,
 176 Vus orguilluse e jeo preiant!

On the basis of these and similar "obsequia," which are typical of what has been called "courtly love," the two exchange rings and enter into a "miserable pact." As Ailred describes pacts of this kind, the participants consider nothing sweeter nor more just than their mutual satisfactions. When Equitan's subjects demand that he marry, therefore, he and his lady, in outright defiance of all justice, plan to murder the seneschal to get him out of the way so that they may preserve their sweet union. The extremely hot bath into which this plan leads them may be regarded as a poetically appropriate opposite of that cool bath in which impulses like those which motivate the lovers are supposed to be removed. Marie's conclusion refers not only to the murder trap but also to Equitan's love:

308 Ici purreit ensample prendre:
 Tel purcece le mal d'autrui
 Dunt le mals tut revert sur lui.

For, as Andreas says, love of this kind is not only displeasing to God; it also causes one to injure his neighbor: "Nam ex amore proximus laeditur, quem ex mandato divīno quisque tanquam se ipsum iubetur diligere."¹⁶ And when a man injures his neighbor in this way, he injures himself.

Marie's story reflects with some fidelity the conventional attributes of lecherous love as they are described in more or less learned works of her time. In view of this fact, and in view of her ironic treatment of the "chivalry" and "courtesy" which spring from this love, we may conclude that Hoepffner was justified in attributing to her a "didactic and moralizing intention." But the words *didactic* and *moralizing* have, in our time, certain unpleasant connotations so that we hesitate to apply them to admirable works of art. Perhaps it would be better to say that Marie shaped her story in such a way that it would illustrate in terms of concrete particulars familiar to her audience something she regarded as a respectable and useful philosophical idea. Ideas of this kind and their practical applications are difficult for laymen to comprehend when they are expressed abstractly, so that the unlearned are inclined to have ears and hear not. Philosophical principles are of little value if no one understands them. But Marie herself expresses this more vividly and forcefully than I can:

Quant uns granz biens est mult oiz,
 Dunc a primes est il fluriz,
 E quant loëz est de plusurs,
 Dunc ad espandues ses flurs.

Princeton University

16. Trojel, p. 316.

A TREND IN RENAISSANCE THOUGHT AND ART: POLIZIANO'S STANZE PER LA GIOSTRA

By Arnolfo B. Ferruolo

THE EPISODE of Simonetta in the central stanzas of the first book of Poliziano's *Stanze per la Giostra*¹ stands framed in a special meaning. This will be apparent if we follow the action of a current that runs under the surface design of the poem, unmistakably leading from all directions to that central point. For, as the poem has it, we come to Simonetta by a quite uncommon way. But if we see her as she is to be seen we shall be aware of the full significance of her appearance: that which precedes is a preparation for her to come as she comes, and that which follows could not be as it is if she were not framed in a special kind of meaning. By a deliberate and subtle strategy, two aspects of a poetic experience, otherwise separately existing in the poem, are brought together and united; at the same time, the poem transmutes into an art form a process of thought that belongs to Poliziano's age.

The *Stanze* open, as is well known, with lines that praise the city of Florence, its magnificent ruler, Lorenzo, and his younger brother, Giuliano, who, under the name of Julio, is the protagonist of the poem. In their solemn strain, these first stanzas are in the same mood as the words with which Giannozzo Manetti exalts the splendor of Florence as a document of man's greatness: "Ours, and therefore human because made by man, is all that is seen, ours are all the houses, all towns, all cities, in short all the constructions of the earth. . . . Ours are the paintings, ours are the sculptures, ours are the arts, ours the sciences."² Since the greatness of man is revealed and measured by the work he does in building his own city, a harmonious relationship is to exist between man and nature. This is true as much outside the poem as inside. In Francesco Giorgio's *De harmonia mundi totius cantica tria*, the human figure is inscribed in a circle and the perfect correspondence between the microcosm and the macrocosm is pointed out.³ Portraits constantly show man in the foreground and landscape in the background; and in *De re aedificatoria*, Alberti finds that a building is made up, as all other bodies, of form and matter, the one worked out by the mind, and the other to be taken from nature.⁴ Even the Renaissance arch and vaults seem to point to this close relationship, when we hear Alberti say that nature delights in what is round, or how similar to the sky

1. Angelo Poliziano, *Stanze cominciate per la Giostra del Magnifico Giuliano dei Piero De' Medici*, in *Rime*, ed P. Mastri (Firenze, 1929), pp. 3-60.

2. Janocii De Manectis, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* (Basileae, 1532), III, 129. (See also II, 97-108). All translations from Italian and Latin works are my own.

3. Francisci Georgii, *De harmonia mundi totius cantica tria* (Venetiis, 1525), Cap. II, foll. 99 ff. The drawing is in fol. 100^v.

4. Leonis Baptistae Alberti, Praefatio, *Libri de re aedificatoria decem* (Parrhisiis, 1512), fol. 2^v.

a domed vault is and how much he would like the shape of heavens painted on vaults.⁵ Poliziano's poem affirms this relationship. When the action begins, Julio is portrayed as a sylvan deity whose ultimate desire is to contemplate nature and act in it. As a hunter he will find his perfection among the wild beasts of the woody countryside:

Quanto è più dolce, quanto è più sicuro
seguir le fere fuggitive in caccia
fra boschi antichi fuor di fossa o muro,
e spiar lor covil per lunga traccia.⁶

In such an intimate communion between man and the exterior world the movement is from the inside outward. In *Della statua* Alberti sets the artist's task to be such that his works "may appear, as much as possible, to the on-lookers as very natural and similar to real bodies made by nature." But the purpose is faultless beauty ("esatta bellezza"), which is attained if we draw from nature "certain principles, perfections and rules."⁷ Now if this is what is required of the artist, the qualities that make beauty may be believed to be in nature, but their true place is in the artist's mind, and from there they flow out. The laws of perspective set forth by Piero della Francesca in his *De prospectiva pingendi* establish a relation which is not so much of the eye to things seen as between the eye and the representation; at the same time, his pictorial work reveals a perfect combination of mathematics and painting.⁸ Within the geometric patterns of his admirable architectures, persons and objects alike make up more geometric figures, as though Piero's art were first of all a mathematical dream made up of lines and angles that come out of his mind to be clothed with colors and become a painted story.

Beauty, then, is to be considered as a high function of the human spirit: "The point, the line, the surface," as Giovanni Conversano writes to Coluccio Salutati, "bespeak the excellence of unity."⁹ We shall be helped

5. Ibid., VII, 4, fol. 99^r; III, 14, fol. 43^{rv}; VII, 11, fol. 110^r.

6. *Stanze*, I, 17, p. 8.

7. L. B. Alberti, *Della statua*, in *Opera volgari*, ed. A. Bonucci (Firenze, 1847), IV, 165, 181. (Or see the Latin text: *Kunsttheoretische Schriften*, ed. H. Janitschek [Wien, 1877], pp. 171, 201). Compare with this what is said of beauty in *De re aedificatoria*, VI, 2, fol. 81^v: "Nos tamen brevitatis gratia sic diffiniemus: ut sit pulchritudo quidem certa cum ratione concinnitas universarum partium in eo cuius sint. . . . Magnum hoc et divinum quo perficiendo omnes vires artium et ingenii consumuntur: raroque vel ipsi naturae cuique concessum: ut in medium proferat quod plane absolutum atque omni ex parte perfectum sit. . . . Id si ita persuadetur erit quidem ornamentum quasi subsidiaria quaedam lux pulchritudinis atque veluti complementum."

8. Piero della Francesca, *De prospectiva pingendi*, ed. G. Nicco Fasola (Firenze, 1942). See esp. pp. 96-99 (fig. XXX) and pp. 125-127 (fig. XLIV). Note also how Piero defines painting (p. 128): "La pittura e se non dimostrazioni de superficie et de corpi degradati o acresciuti nel termine."

9. Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. F. Novati (Roma, 1891-1911), IV, 322. Speaking of the arts, Ficino says: "Cum in omnibus artibus convenientia placeat, qua una servata pulchra sunt omnia, ipsa vero convenientia aequalitatem unitatemque appe-

in seeing what we have to see in Poliziano's poem by a definition of beauty which Marsilio Ficino gives in his *De amore*:

Beauty truly is a certain grace, which is born, above all, of the harmony of divers things. Beauty is triple: namely, in the souls it is a grace that results from the harmony of several virtues; in the bodies it is a grace which is born of the unity of divers colors and lines; likewise in the sounds it is a grace coming essentially of the consonance of several voices. Beauty is therefore threefold; of souls, bodies, and voices. That of souls is perceived through the mind, that of bodies through the eyes, that of voices through the ears alone. . . . Since it is so, it is necessary for beauty to be something common to virtue, figure, and voices. For we should not certainly call in a same way any of these three beautiful if the same definition of beauty were not in all three. It ensues that the nature of beauty cannot be body, because if beauty were corporeal it would not become the virtues of the soul, which are incorporeal. Beauty is indeed so far from being body that not only the beauty of virtues, but also that of bodies and voices cannot be corporeal.¹⁰

When the protagonist of the *Stanze* contemplates nature, nowhere does one line or color stand alone, nor is one sound heard apart from others. All is a harmony of voices and forms. Two verbs, *vedere* and *udire*, carry the action of the mind and give unity to what is scattered:

Veder la valle e 'l colle e l'aer puro,
l'erbe e' fior, l'acqua viva chiara e ghiaccia.
Udir gli augei svernar, rimbombar l'onde,
e dolce al vento mormorar le fronde.¹¹

And this is not all. Such clear signs of a deliberate design invite us to watch further, for even in the outward arrangement this part of the poem is such as not to pass unnoticed. The stanzas that describe the beauty of nature are

tat, vel similitudine parium partium, vel gradatione disparium, quis est qui summam aequalitatem vel similitudinem in corporibus inveniat. . . . Porro ipsa vero aequalitas ac similitudo atque ipsa vera et prima unitas, nullo sensu, sed mente intellecta conspicitur" (Marsilio Ficini, *Theologia Platonica*, XII, 5, in *Opera* [Basileae, 1576], I, 276). Beauty is harmony and harmony is unity. Mathematics, then, is the expression of a desire to attain to that which cannot be found in matter; Paolo Uccello's audacious experiments in perspective, for instance, clearly reveal it to be so. Ficino points out that "physica constant ex mathematicis," and that many artists "mathematicam ingressi viam, ad finem pervenerint exoptatum," praising Alberti above all, who, "ab iisdem disciplinis exorsum, opus in architectura pulcherrimum edidisse" (*In Timaeum commentarium*, XLI, in *Opera*, II, 1464). There is no doubt in Ghiberti's mind that "la proportionalità solamente fa pulcritudine" (Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Denkwürdigkeiten (I Commentarii)*, ed. J. Von Schlosser [Berlin, 1912], III, 105); and Luca Pacioli mentions several painters who "sempre con libella e circino lor opere portionando a perfection mirabile conducano. In modo che non humane, ma divine negli ochi nostri s'apresentano" (*Summa de arithmetica geometria* [Tusculano, 1523], fol. 2^r).

10. In *Convivium Platonis de amore commentarium*, Cap. IV and Oratio quinta, Cap. III, in *Opera*, II, pp. 1322, 1335. (Or see Ficino's Italian translation: *Sopra lo amore*, [Firenze, 1554]).

11. *Stanze*, I, 17, p. 8.

divided into four parts of equal length, and each image is exactly contained within two lines, with no overlapping from one couplet to the other:

Quanto giova a mirar pender da un'erta
le capre, e pascere questo e quel virgulto;
e 'l montanaro all'ombra più conserta
destar la sua zampogna e 'l verso inculito.
Veder la terra di pomi coperta,
ogni àrbor da' suo' frutti quasi occulto;
veder cozzar monton, vacche mugghiare,
e le biade ondeggiar come fa il mare.¹²

Here are images that stand separate, all by themselves. But through them all runs the verb *vedere* which makes a unity out of a multiplicity. Behind the eye, we know, there is the mind, and the mind is an eye, as Leonardo's writings so often tell us: "As soon as the eye is open it sees all the stars of our hemisphere. The mind instantly jumps from the east to the west, and all other incorporeal things are by far unlike these as for speed."¹³ When Julio acts in nature and storms, as it were, the beautiful landscape with his fellow hunters, that which we have already seen is still better seen. It is as if we were looking at a vast chessboard, where all pieces are accurately disposed in their proper place, the players moving alternately according to precise rules. One move made by the hunters is followed by one made by the hunted beasts, and the scene unfolds along the line of a geometric pattern which is given the colors and aspects of nature and life:

Chi serba in coppia i can, chi gli scompagna;
chi già 'l suo ammette, chi 'l richiama e alletta:
chi sprona il buon destrier per la campagna. . . .¹⁴

Julio is at the centre of the action, the absolute master of this countryside filled with beasts and hunters:

la selva trema; e gli cede ogni pianta:
gli àrbori abbatte o svelle o rami schianta.¹⁵

The forest is Julio's, for it is as if he had made it. There he is a god and he is portrayed as such. "Nothing is great on the earth," says Pico della Mirandola, "above man, nothing is great in man above the mind and the soul: if you rise thither, you are beyond the heavens."¹⁶

A conflict inevitably arises between such vivid consciousness of man's greatness and the equally strong awareness of the limitations that are in man and nature. Alongside joy there is a deep lament. Sorrow incessantly hangs over man, and death is felt to be an end. Coluccio Salutati gives vent

12. Ibid., I, 18, p. 9.

13. *Codice Atlantico* (fol. 204^v), Regia Accademia dei Lincei (Milano, 1894-1904), II, 717.

14. *Stanze*, I, 29, p. 12.

15. Ibid., I, 32, p. 13.

16. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, ed. E. Garin (Firenze, 1946) III, 27, p. 416.

to an inner despair which finds no comfort, praying God that he be given strength not to rebel against death.¹⁷ Many passages of Ficino's *Theologia Platonica* are in the same painful mood, insistently repeating that restlessness and anxiety never cease in man, as if he were lost inside an abyss or shut in a dark prison which oppresses him with horrible nightmares, and where all is fearfully deformed. At the beginning of the fourth book of *Il Cortegiano*, just when the figure of the perfect courtier is almost completely drawn in all its details, the author pauses to tell us that death has come upon many of those brilliant gentlemen whose refined conversation had gradually brought into being a man endowed with all the best qualities of mind and body, a selected and transparent reality. Later, in the dedicatory letter, he reminds us of that which he had already told us; and in both instances the author's words express a profound sadness, because he has before his eyes a courtier whose qualities are more than human.¹⁸ Nothing changes, in this respect, if we observe Lorenzo's poetry. The first chapter of the *Altercazione* reveals a situation marked by utter dejection. The poet is unhappy and so is the shepherd whose simple life might be judged, for a moment, as something to be envied: it is because human goods are not as they should be. They are neither stable nor permanent.¹⁹ As Ficino puts it, "we all desire to have goods; and not only to have them, but to have them forever. But all the goods that mortals have change and fade away. . . ."²⁰ Decay, perishableness, and death are common themes of Lorenzo's poetry, and not only of his:

Ogni cosa è fugace e poco dura,
tanto Fortuna al mondo è mal costante;
sola sta ferma e sempre dura Morte.²¹

Why is it so? And how is it that man so intensely feels decay and death impinging against him? Must it not be so? The answer is offered by Ficino in *De amore*:

The soul, once it is brought into being, turns by a certain natural instinct towards God, its maker . . . , whereupon it is lightened by his rays. But when received in the substance of the soul which is by its nature without form, this first light darkens and, drawn down to the capacity of the soul, becomes natural and proper to it.

17. C. Salutati, *Epistolario*, III, 415-420.

18. *Il Cortegiano*, ed. V. Cian (Firenze, 1910), IV, 406-408. Strong, in these pages, is the feeling of rebellion against death: "benché l'animo fusse di tanto vigore che per un tempo tenesse i spiriti in quel corpo a dispetto di morte. . . ." And in the dedicatory letter (pp. 3-4), the author's sadness is stressed by the insistent reiteration of the word "morto" in several consecutive sentences.

19. Lorenzo De' Medici, *Altercazione*, Capitolo I, in *Opere*, ed. A. Simioni (Bari, 1913-1914), II, 35-39.

20. *De amore*, Oratio sexta, Cap. XI, in *Opera*, II, 1349.

21. Lorenzo De' Medici, Sonnet XLII, in *Opere*, I, 183. Many of Lorenzo's *Rime* are in the same mood: see, for instance, Canzone IV, (pp. 184-186), where the first line ("Il tempo fugge e vola") sets the tone of the whole poem, and Sonnet XLIII, in which, once again, the poet grieves over the inexorable flight of time.

And thus by means of this light, the one that is the same as the soul, it sees itself and what is below, that is, all bodies. But it cannot see God and that which is higher than itself. Brought, however, nearer God through this first light, the soul is given another and clearer light, by which it can also see the supreme things.

Man has been endowed with two lights: a first or natural light, and a second or divine light. "But our soul," Ficino adds, "fell into the body when it forsook the divine light to make use of its own light alone, and began to be self-contented . . . and therefore the soul made itself equal to God when it chose to be contented solely with itself, as though it were self-sufficient, no less than God."²² The protagonist of the *Stanze* is self-contented and self-sufficient. He spurns love, we are told, because it makes a slave of a man and deprives him of all his powers. Julio scornfully ridicules the effects of love on lovers, for he is unable, at the time, to see their true meaning. Lovers are overcome by the object of their love, tremble in its presence and worship it, because, without knowing it, what they desire is not this or that body but the splendor of the supreme light shining in all beautiful bodies.²³ For man has a birthright which cannot be done away with. He may have fallen, but there is in him a longing for infinity that is never quenched.²⁴ Man's unceasing anxiety can be given a positive significance and his impatience of all limitations can be conquered if the divine light is won back. Lorenzo's prayer at the end of the *Altercazione* and Bembo's prayer in the last chapters of *Il Cortegiano* invoke the coming of light so that reality may be seen and felt as it truly is.²⁵

It is striking to see how all this finds its way into Poliziano's poem and gathers itself along a line of action which cannot escape us, so many on the surface are the signs of the current that lies beneath. A beautiful and swift doe, Cupid's work, appears before Julio, who is storming unhampered through the forest. As we expect, he pursues it gladly and self-assuredly. But the beast cannot be overtaken and the hunter's desire to seize it is vain. Then suddenly the doe vanishes and Simonetta takes its place. Her appearance is unexpected, but it marks a transition rather than a sharp change. The doe was *candida* and so now is Simonetta:

Candida è ella, e candida la vesta,
ma pur di rose e fior dipinta e d'erba. . . .²⁶

22. *De amore*, Oratio quarta, Cap. IV, in *Opera*, II, 1332.

23. *Ibid.*, Oratio secunda, Cap. VI, p. 1326.

24. This birthright of man is constantly asserted by Ficino, but nowhere more passionately than in a letter addressed to all mankind: "Dii estis et filii excelsi omnes. Heu vestri nimium ignarae mentes, heu pectora caeca. Surgite iam precor ex hoc profundiore somno, respicite quandoque obsecro. Si enim respiscitis, feliciter respirabitis . . ." (*Epistolarum*, in *Opera*, I, 659). Man's longing for infinity is vividly expressed by Giannozzo Manetti: "Omnes insuper naturali et innata voluntate immortales fore exoptamus et cupimus . . ." (*De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, II, 84).

25. Lorenzo De' Medici, *Altercazione*, Capitolo VI, in *Opere*, II, 65-70; B. Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, IV, 70, pp. 497-498. See also Ficino's "Oratio ad Deum theologica," in *Supplementum Ficinianum*, ed. P. O. Kristeller (Firenze, 1937), I, 40-46; and *Epistolarum*, in *Opera*, I, 665-667.

26. *Stanze*, I, 43, p. 17.

Does this insistence on the same word signify something? We shall soon know that it does. But first we have to look at Julio once more, for a sharp change takes place in him just at this point. Self-sufficiency and self-content are no longer his attributes. So great is the power of Simonetta's beauty that it breaks him. Without knowing it, he tries to find in her beauty what all lovers seek in their loved ones, the words of his prayer to her telling us his hope that a divine being may be hidden behind such a lovely figure. And we know that he had begun to be ready for this prayer since the moment when he had met his first limitation in the forest. Simonetta reveals herself to Julio, and hers is a revelation that moves along a thread which clearly works its way to a most meaningful end. This movement towards an end is an upward one, an ascent by degrees, which begins with the disappearance of the doe and ends when Simonetta departs. At first she openly declares that she is a woman; but afterwards she tells Julio that he should not marvel at her beauty, because Venus herself is her mother. By saying so, Simonetta now holds a medial position between what she was before and what she will soon be. At this point she is a sign of something: she is love, for beauty begets love and love leads to the fruition of beauty. In fact this medial position looks ahead to what is yet to be revealed about Simonetta, and we are now ready for it. The final stage of her revelation is approached along a line of great expectation. As the night falls on the countryside, Simonetta invites Julio to be joyous and takes her leave. The woods utter sweet laments and the birds begin to weep. Then she slowly walks away:

ma l'erba verde sotto i dolci passi
bianca gialla vermiglia azzurra fassi.²⁷

The expectation here finds its fulfilment. The farther the grass is from Simonetta's feet, the darker its color becomes; as the more light dims, the farther it is from its own source. One of Tommaso Campanella's philosophical poems thus defines light:

La luce è una, semplice e sincera
nel sole, e per se stessa manifesta,
.....
Poi, negli opachi mista
corpi, vivezza perde,
né per sé si diffonde.
Di color giallo, azzurro, rosso e verde
prende nome, secondo l'ombra trista
più o meno la nasconde,
né senza il primo lume può esser vista.²⁸

27. Ibid., I, 55, p. 21.

28. Tommaso Campanella, *Poesie*, ed. G. Gentile (Firenze, 1939), p. 48. Note also these remarks of Ficino about light and colour: "Lumen spiritale quoddam sit . . ." (*De lumine*, Cap. XIII, in *Opera*, I, 982); "Color quidem lux est opaca" (ibid., Cap. II, p. 977).

When Simonetta departs, she is as light; and light is the splendor of divine beauty from which love proceeds. All is at last clear. We now see that the word *candida* had an overtone and that its recurrence was a sign of what was about to come. In his treatise on painting, Alberti makes use of the same word to describe light; and in treating color as a function of light he points out that white is all the painter has to approximate the supreme luster ("ultimum candorem") of pure light.²⁹ All created beings partake of God's beauty, because he infuses himself into all things and shines through them all:³⁰ "one light of the sun," says Ficino, "painted with the colors and shapes of all the bodies on which it beats."³¹ When Simonetta appears, dressed in a gown that has the colors of flowers and grass, she is beyond any doubt as light is in all creatures, according to their degree of perfection. Everything in the universe, then, is an invitation for man to win back the divine light. The beauty of the world which man can see will show the way: Leonardo extols the eye as the instrument which "directs the human discourse to divine contemplation."³² It is in this sense that the action of the poem may be said to move, from its beginning, towards this point at its center. The protagonist of the *Stanze*, whom we saw eagerly casting his eye on nature, was making himself ready for the final reward.³³ This comes when he is made worthy of it by a prayer which is moved by love; and love is desire of beauty. Henceforth, we are told, Julio will not be as he was before. At the end of *Il Cortegiano*, when Bembo has completed his prayer, one star is visible. It is Venus. All around, at the same time, the colors of dawn announce the coming of the sun.³⁴ One of Ficino's best pages on light shows a multitude of men immersed in complete darkness; but the sun suddenly rises, joyfully extolled as the true image of God.³⁵ Through a steep and

29. Leonis Baptistae De Albertis, *De pictura praestantissima . . . libri tres* (Amstelodami, 1649), I, 7; II, 24-25. (Or see the Italian text: *Della pittura*, ed. L. Malle [Firenze, 1950], I, 62-63; II, 98-102). Compare with Ficino's *De lumine*, Cap. XII, in *Opera*, I, 982.

30. "Pulchritudo divina per omnia splendet et amatur in omnibus"; "Pulchritudo actus quidam sive radius inde per omnia penetrans" (M. Ficini, *De amore*, Oratio secunda, Cap. V, in *Opera*, II, 1326).

31. Ibid., Oratio quinta, Cap. IV, p. 1337.

32. *Codice Atlantico* (fol. 345^v), ed. cit., III, 1161. Praise of the eye and longing for light often go together in Leonardo's writings: see, for instance, *Codice Vaticano Urbinate 1270*, fol. 13. (Leonardo da Vinci, *Das Buch von der Malerei*, ed. H. Ludwig [Wien, 1882], p. 46).

33. It is also to be noted, in this connection, that Ficino speaks, in his *De amore*, of a poetic furor ("poeticus furor") which impels the soul, when it is all immersed in the infinite multitude of things corporeal, to wake up its own superior faculties and give harmony to what is discordant. This is the first and lowest stage ("natura") of the soul's ascent towards God: "redire quippe ad unum animus nequit, nisi ipse unum efficiatur" (Oratio septima, Cap. XIV, p. 1361). At the beginning of the *Stanze*, Julio is portrayed as a hunter and poet (I, 11, p. 5):

e 'n compagnia delle nove sorelle
celesti versi con desio cantava.

34. *Il Cortegiano*, IV, 73, pp. 500-501.

35. *De sole*, Cap. XII, in *Opera*, I, 974.

dark road, Love leads Lorenzo ("avendo il disio già verso il ciel volto") to the realm of Venus; and the poet sees the sun:

Quindi in più luminosa parte assunto
potei mirare il sol con mortal ciglio,
né mai cosa mortal mi piacque poi.³⁶

In the realm of Venus, where we rise after Simonetta's departure, beauty and light are one. Venus' palace is described entirely in terms of light; and the stones of which it is made are the same precious stones that Lorenzo Ghiberti highly praises because they either diffuse light or let it through.³⁷ The sculptures carved on the gates spread to view myths of gods whom Ficino often associates with the essence or the qualities of the sun.³⁸ The triumph of Venus is the triumph of light. The Hours, who accompany Phoebus' chariot through the heavens, wait here upon the goddess of beauty, adorning her body with stars and glittering gems, and raising her to the high spheres on a silver cloud; the whole scene is an effulgence of light. As Ficino's *De amore* tells us, the whole order of the world is perceived by the eyes, "not as it is in the matter of bodies, but as it is in the light which is infused into the eyes."³⁹ Once the divine light is won back, reality is seen, through the eyes, as form.

But if light is the vestment of the universe, love is the animating principle of reality. Beauty begets love, which itself is desire of beauty; by love God attracts the world and the world is attracted by him. This circular process from God to the world and from the world to God, has three names. As it begins in God, it is beauty; as it passes into the world, it is love; as it returns to its source, it is felicity. Love begins in beauty and ends in *voluptas*.⁴⁰ As the design of the *Stanze* has it, it is Cupid who sets in motion the central event of the poem; and after he has cast his dart through Julio's heart, he flies back rejoicingly to the realm of his mother. There he witnesses a most delightful sight: a shower of flowers falls on Venus and Mars, while little Cupids joyfully play and dance in the air. It is a vision of utmost enjoyment. The circle is completed. The episode of Simonetta also has its circle; and it closes when all is revealed about her. Besides, love is called, in the poem, the beginning and the end. It is also the center: it is the position Simonetta holds at one point of the action.

Reality is felt, through love, to be love; and thus all limitations are conquered. For love is not only desire of contemplating beauty and, as such, the aspiration after a final place of rest and felicity; it is also desire of generating beauty. Because of this desire all things have been created; and

36. Lorenzo De' Medici, Sonnet LXXV, in *Opere*, I, 213.

37. L. Ghiberti, *I Commentarii*, III, 56.

38. Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Apollo, Bacchus are the principal figures of Poliziano's bas-reliefs. To these same deities Ficino often refers throughout his writings, when treating of the sun.

39. *De amore*, Oratio quinta, Cap. IV, in *Opera*, II, 1337.

40. *Ibid.*, Oratio secunda, Cap. II, p. 1324.

in virtue of the same desire that all creatures have, mortal things are made like the immortal, for all beings endeavor, as Ficino points out, to preserve, by generation, "perpetual life."⁴¹ Whenever in the garden of Venus one flower is picked, at once a new one opens its petals to the sun; and all the mythological trees and flowers of that garden love forever what they used to love when they were live men and women. Likewise, those animals which we saw stricken with fear in Julio's forest are now moved only by love; and the deer can kiss its mate, unafraid of the fierce lion that stands by. The gods carved on the gates of Venus' palace lovingly look at the goddess, and their love is desire of contemplating beauty and generating it.⁴²

The language of myth enables Poliziano to unite the human and the divine. His realm of Venus is beyond time and space:

ivi non volgon gli anni il lor quaderno;
ma lieta Primavera mai non manca. . . .⁴³

But the poet does not leave behind that which is in time and space, he lifts it up. At some crucial points of *Il Cortegiano*, the simile of a perfect garden insistently recurs, as the projection, we might say, of a wish to stop time and make stable what is perishable.⁴⁴ It had been Petrarch's dream.

The *Stanze per la Giostra* are unfinished. If the work had been further developed, its dominant theme would have probably been the same. The beginning of the second book clearly suggests this: a host of Cupids invades the world, inaugurating anew a circular movement. Even as it stands the poem reflects a current of thought which spreads in all directions.⁴⁵ It is a current that underlies, for instance, Leonardo's exalted pages on light,⁴⁶ and the works of painters as well. There is in Botticelli's "Calumny

41. Ibid., Oratio sexta, Cap. XI, 1349.

42. After the triumph of Venus, the myths carved on the gates are, as it were, set in motion. The immortals descend from Olympus to perform their deeds of love, and the mortals, conversely, become immortal through love.

43. *Stanze*, I, 72, 27.

44. *Il Cortegiano*, IV, 10, p. 417; IV, 18, p. 428. Compare with what is said in IV, 9, p. 417; I, 49, p. 123; and, especially, in II, 1, pp. 137-139, where the comparison between a beautiful garden and everlasting youth and happiness sharply contrasts with the awareness that "noi con la nave della mortalità fuggendo n'andiamo l'un dopo l'altro per quel procelloso mare che ogni cosa assorbe e devora. . . ." See also Lorenzo De' Medici, Canzone V, in *Opere*, I, 190, 192.

45. An allusion to Lorenzo's literary and philosophical circle might be seen in stanza 16 of the second book: "Giten tutti a ferir nel toscan coro" (p. 50).

46. See, for instance, his *Lalda del Sole* (*Codice F*, [foll. 5^r, 4^r], in *Les Manuscrits de Léonard de Vinci*, ed. C. Ravaisson-Mollien [Paris, 1881-1891], IV). Poems and writings on the sun and light are numerous, both before and after Leonardo: from Dati's *La Spera* and Savonarola's sermons to Pontano's, Marullo's, Campanella's hymns to the sun, and Francesco da Diacceto's *In amorem*. It is as if artists and writers alike had made their own the phrase with which Lorenzo Ghiberti opens his third Commentary: "Doctissimo, nessuna cosa si vede senza luce" (*I Commentarii*, III, 55). These words, in fact, imply more than a mere reference to a physical phenomenon, in the same way that the treatment of light in Domenico Veneziano's paintings is more than a matter of pictorial technique. I will investigate this question at length in a forthcoming essay on what I call the poetry of light in the Italian Renaissance.

of Apelles" a naked figure of Truth, whose whiteness sharply contrasts with the turmoil of colors on the other side of the picture: an image, almost, of that "pura verità formosa e bianca,"⁴⁷ which is Lorenzo's aspiration in the *Altercazione*. And when Piero della Francesca freezes men and objects under his perfect geometric architectures he seems to be in search of a human world endowed with that quality of immutability which does not pertain to man. To fulfill, as it were, what Ficino says, addressing the human soul in a letter to all mankind: *es enim extra dum mundum ipsa complecteris*.⁴⁸

Harvard University

47. Lorenzo De' Medici, *Altercazione*, Capitolo III, 165, in *Opere*, II, 51.

48. *Epistolarum*, Liber I, in *Opera*, I, 660. See also: *Theologia Platonica*, VI, 2, in *Opera*, I, p. 158.

THE CASE OF LOPE DE VEGA'S *AMAR, SERVIR Y ESPERAR* (A PROBLEM OF LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS)

By J. H. Arjona

WHEN Cotarelo edited Lope de Vega's play, *Amar, servir y esperar*, in 1917,¹ he raised an interesting question of literary relationships. He noted that the plot of this play "es el mismo, hasta con los nombres de los principales personajes (Dorotea, Feliciano, Andrés) de la novela *El socorro en el peligro*, que don Alonso Castillo Solórzano publicó, con otras suyas, a principios de 1625, pero que suena ya aprobada a 5 de septiembre de 1624 en el tomo titulado *Tardes entretenidas*."² *Amar, servir y esperar* was first printed posthumously in 1635 in one of the *Partes*, XXII.³

"Quién copió a quién?" continues Cotarelo. "Nuestro parecer se inclinaría a favor de Lope, . . . Pero la circunstancia de corresponder la comedia a los últimos tiempos del fecundo poeta, si, como se dice al final la estrenó Roque de Figueroa,⁴ y la de ser cierto e indudable que la novela estaba ya escrita y era conocida en 1624 e impresa en el siguiente año, nos hacen vacilar y dejar sin resolver el punto de crítica propuesto."⁵

Several attempts have been made to ascertain the date of composition of *Amar, servir y esperar* in an effort to determine the direction of the literary relationship that obviously exists. Rennert and Castro state without giving their reasons for the assertion: "La fecha se halla, probablemente, entre 1618 y 1623."⁶ Buchanan, probably based on the mention of Rubens (who visited Spain in 1628) and the reference to the Marqués de Guadalcázar (who returned to Spain from his viceroyship in Peru in 1628), offers this as the year of composition.⁷ Montesinos, assuming that the reference to the attack on Callao by the Dutch corsair Jacob L'Hermite contained in the play was made contemporaneously with the historical facts, maintains that it was written in 1624-25.⁸ José María de Cossío, using the same evidence says: "me atrevo a proponer como fecha de su comedia los fines del año

1. *Obras de Lope de Vega publicadas por la Real Academia Española* (Madrid, 1917), III, 214-245.

2. *Ibid.*, Introd., xv.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Aquí, senado discreto,
Amar, servir y esperar
tuvieron tan justo premio.
Roque os ama; Lope os sirve
y yo vuestro aplauso espero. (*Acad. N.*, III, 245b)

5. *Op. cit.*, Introd., xvi.

6. Hugo A. Rennert and Américo Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1919), p. 460.

7. M. A. Buchanan, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays* (Toronto, 1922).

8. J. F. Montesinos in *RFE*, X (1923).

1624 o el 1625."⁹ Lastly, Morley and Bruerton, not convinced by the previous arguments and finding that the verse evidence is inconclusive, simply state the termini 1624-35.¹⁰

Obviously Rennert and Castro are mistaken, because Lope could not refer in 1618-23 to an event that took place in 1624-25. Bruerton and Morley argue convincingly that "if the account of the attack on Callao had been introduced to praise Guadalcázar on his return to Spain early in 1629, we feel that the Marquis would be praised in it instead of being merely mentioned in passing." (*Chronology*, page 166). The *terminus a quo* established in the other three attempts to date the play coincide in 1624. Since the novel *El socorro en el peligro* was licensed for publication on September 5, 1624, the question of priority raised by Cotarelo still remains unanswered.

The plots of both the play and the novel are very similar throughout half of the works. Briefly the story is the following. Feliciano has fled Madrid after having stabbed a man over a love affair. (This episode, merely mentioned in the play, is fully developed in the novel.) Accompanied by his slave servant, Andrés, on his way to Seville, he is overtaken by a frightful storm and becomes lost in a forest. He rescues Dorotea and Julio, her servant, from a gang of highwaymen who have attacked and killed her relatives and traveling companions, and takes them to an inn. Suspecting that their saviour is also a bandit who has killed his companions to retain sole possession of their prey, Dorotea and Julio flee the inn early in the morning and eventually reach the home of her uncle, don Sancho Tello (Rodrigo de Ribera in the novel), in Seville. When Feliciano and Andrés discover their flight, they too proceed to Seville. Here Feliciano receives a letter recommending him to don Sancho Tello, from whom he is to receive the Order of Santiago. Dorotea sees and recognizes Feliciano and sends him a letter suggesting a meeting on a lake near San Juan de Alfarache. As they approach their meeting place, her boat capsizes and Feliciano saves her from drowning. He now learns why she fled him at the inn and also the fact that she has made the trip to Seville to be married to an *indiano* who is momentarily expected from Peru. Therefore, they must bring their incipient love to a sudden end.

From this point on the plot varies in the two works. In the play Feliciano insists on courting Dorotea, hoping for favorable developments (which eventually occur), while in the novel he romantically goes off to the wars in Flanders, seeking a liberating death, but returns in the nick of time to save her from being buried alive and lastly from being murdered by two hoodlums hired by her pitiless husband.¹¹

9. J. M. de Cossío, "La fecha de *Amar, servir y esperar* de Lope de Vega," in *RFE*, XII (1925), 70-72.

10. S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Comedias* (London, 1940), p. 166.

11. The plot of the latter part of the novel is similar to that of Lope's play *La difunta pleiteada* (1593-1603). Cf. María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, *La difunta pleiteada* (Madrid, 1909).

It appears impossible, judging from this rapid summary, to determine which work preceded the other, but a careful scrutiny of minor details of the plot seems to indicate that the play is based on the novel.

In the first place, the suspicion that Feliciano might be one of the bandits who had attacked Dorotea's party is well grounded in the details of the plot of the novel, but it has no basis in the play. In the novel, after the bandits attacked Dorotea's party, they broke up into two groups which Feliciano met separately. One of these groups held her and the other withdrew, resentful of the dominance and selfishness of their leader. She was easily convinced by Julio's suspicions because she "reparó luego en que cuando acabaron de quitar la vida a su padre, primo y criados y dividido entre ellos sus dineros y vestiduras de seis compañeros que eran, los tres se dividieron de los otros algo sentidos de que el uno de ellos hubiese hecho elección de ella. . . ."¹² There is no such dispersal of the bandits in the play. The six bandits who are reduced to three or four¹³ in the play were dispatched collectively by Feliciano, Andrés, Julio, and a shepherd who was also being held. There is no definite indication that any fled alive. Therefore, when Julio tells Dorotea of his suspicions of Feliciano and urges her to flee the inn,¹⁴ he, or rather, Lope, is thinking of the first group of bandits who appeared in the novel but who never figured in the play.

Further evidence that Lope is thinking of the six highwaymen of the novel is found in a statement that Feliciano makes towards the end of the play:

En todos los elementos
quiso Amor que te sirviese:
en la tierra cuando estabas
atada a un tronco silvestre
expuesta a seis salteadores.

(*Acad. N.*, III, 238b.)

Lope forgot that he had reduced the number of the attackers.

A second and very significant detail is to be found in the text of the two letters that Feliciano receives shortly after his arrival in Seville. The resemblance between the texts of these letters should dismiss the possibility of coincidental similarity:

Play

El día que salió don Félix del peligro de la herida que le distes, se vieron las informaciones de vuestro Hábito en el Consejo de Ordenes. Con ésta os envío

Novel

A un mismo tiempo que don Félix salió del peligro de las heridas que le distes, causa de vuestra ausencia, se vieron en el Consejo de las Ordenes

12. A. Castillo Solórzano, *Tardes entretenidas* (Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas) (Madrid), IX, 233-234.

13. In the cast of characters: "tres salteadores" (*Acad. N.* III, 214); in the stage directions: "cuatro salteadores" (*ibid.*, p. 216a).

14. *Acad. N.*, III, 218b.

la licencia para que don Sancho Tello os le dé, etc. [The etc. is Lope's.]¹⁵

las informaciones de vuestro hábito: con ésta os envío la licencia para que os le dé ahí don Rodrigo de Ribera, caballero bien conocido en esa ciudad. Aguardo a que don Félix esté convalidado para tratar de vuestras amistades. Vuestro padre ignora el origen de la pendencia y la causa della; ha sentido tiernamente vuestra partida, y desea mucho se hagan las amistades para volveros a ver. De lo que sucediese de nuevo os iré avisando, en tanto tomad el hábito, y guardaos Dios largos años. Vuestro amigo,

Don Antonio¹⁷

Una mujer desea hablaros, señor Feliciano de Mendoza. No puede ser en su casa, y va esta tarde en un barco a San Juan de Alfarache. Podéis ir en otro y acercaos a quien os hiciere señas con unos listones verdes.¹⁶

... Deseo mucho hablaros despacio porque tengo muchas cosas que comunicaros; mas el recato de la casa en que vivo es tan grande, que en ella no puedo cumplir este deseo. Pasado mañana, por la tarde, me esperad en un barco junto a las huertas de San Juan de Alfarache, donde con la seña de un lenzuelo que levantaré en alto, me hallaréis en otro y dél os daré aviso de lo que habéis de hacer. Dios os guarde.¹⁸

Compared with the text of Castillo Solórzano's letter that of Lope is brief, but the "etc." is extremely meaningful. It seems to imply that Lope had in mind the full text. But even more meaningful in trying to establish the priority of either work is the fact that the only bits of prose included in *Amar, servir y esperar* clearly reflect the text of *El socorro en el peligro*, whereas there is hardly any resemblance between the poetry of the play and that contained in the novel. In fact, the only instance of vague poetic similarity is to be found in the following *décima* of Lope and the accompanying sonnet of Castillo Solórzano:

Amé, servi y esperé;
amó, recibió y pagó
quien vió, quien sintió, quien
dió
tanto premio a tanta fe.
Partí, llegué, descansé,
dando a un justo porfiar

Amé, sollicité, rogué, serví;
y aunque serví, sollicité y amé,
ni estimación le dieron á mi fe,
ni mejorado de favor me ví.
Importunando á pretender volví;
escribí mi pasión, sentí, lloré,
y menos gracia con mi dueño hallé,

15. Ibid., 223b.

16. Ibid., 226a.

17. *Tardes entretenidas*, p. 237.

18. Ibid., 239-240.

tiempo, ocasión y lugar,
que al fin vienen a tener
premio, descanso y placer
amar, servir y esperar.
(Acad. N., III, 244b.)

con saber que escribi, lloré y sentí.
Como mi alma el desengaño vió
que ya tan descubierto se le da,
de su amorosa empresa desistió,
mas, vencida de amores, vuelve ya;
que quien de veras ama como yo,
con gran dificultad olvidará.
(*Tardes entretenidas*, pages 257-258.)¹⁹

The words *amé* and *serví* in the first sonnet offer the only suggestion of the title of the play to be found in the novel, whereas the idea of *el socorro en el peligro* permeates the entire play and appears explicitly in several instances:

que el favor en los peligros
hace mayores efetos.²⁰

en virtud
de mi fe y amor ha sido
el haberos socorrido.²¹

Saquéla de otro peligro.²²

Finally, halfway through the third act of the play and again towards the end Lope refers to an incident never mentioned before in the play, in which Feliciano saves Dorotea from a fire:

En el fuego, aquella noche
que por descuido se emprende
en tu casa habrá diez días,
de cuyas llamas ardientes

19. Actually, this sonnet is more suggestive in thought, technique, and details of expression, of another sonnet that Lope had included years before in *Angélica en el Calay*:

Herí, maté, rompí, quebré, quité,
Gente, armas, casas, todo cuanto vi,
Y aunque quité, quebré, maté y rompí,
Nunca el amor vencí ni derribé.
Acometí, llegué, subí, escalé,
Muros, torres y almenas que batí,
Y aunque llegué, escalé y acometí,
Siempre este fiero amor se queda en pie.
Ninguno en todo el mundo me venció,
Amor de mi valor triunfando va,
Y de mis sienes el laurel pisó.
No digas que venciste, Alcides, ya;
Di, amor, pues que lo digo también yo,
Que Roldán a tus pies rendido está.

(Acad., XIII, 447a.)

20. Acad. N., III, 219a.

21. Ibid., 228b.

22. Ibid., 243b.

en estos brazos, en éstos,
siempre a servirme fieles,
fuiste Penate de Troya,
que siempre mis penas eres.²³

... de cuyos brazos si agora
mis esperanzas la sacan,
será más que con los míos
del fuego de vuestra casa.²⁴

This incident, which is narrated in very poor verses, is merely an after-thought that Lope throws in at the last moment. Yet this incident does not appear in the novel at all. Since Castillo Solórzano's novel consists, as the title *El socorro en el peligro* indicates, of a series of incidents in which Feliciano saves Dorotea from accidental death, it is reasonable to suppose that, had the novelist been following the playwright, he would probably have exploited this suggestion. In this connection it may be further argued that the title of the novel is much more indicative of the common plot than that of the play.

The positive as well as the negative evidence adduced from this comparison of the texts of *Amar, servir y esperar* and *El socorro en el peligro* seem to indicate that Lope based his play on Castillo Solórzano's *novela*. If this is the case, it should be noted that this is one of the very rare occasions in which Lope has been found copying a contemporary of his so closely.²⁵ It should also be added that if the evidence of *periodismo* is rejected the only safe assumption on the subject of the date of the play is the one made by Morley and Bruerton, 1624-35.

University of Connecticut

23. Ibid., III, 238b.

24. Ibid., 243b.

25. The only other similar instance I know of is recorded by W. L. Fichter in "Lope de Vega an Imitator of Quevedo?" *MP*, XXX (1932), No. 2.

SAINTE-BEUVE (1824-1830): CRITIC AND CREATOR

By Carl A. Viggiani

SAINTE-BEUVE was aware that his critical and creative works formed an organic whole whose parts should not be studied in isolation, but he never made clear how he saw the relationship between them. Nor have students of his works more than suggested it. My aim here is to explore that relationship by examining three key notions in his earliest criticism—the “studious poet,” the “primitive poet,” and the “elegiac poet”—showing how they were related to the vision that he had of himself as a creator, and lastly, studying how they operated in his criticism. The ties that bind Sainte-Beuve’s creations to his criticism are many and could provide the matter for an extensive study. In what follows I propose only to touch on certain of the principal aspects of the subject.¹

During most of his distinguished career as a critic Sainte-Beuve regarded it as a “pis-aller honorable,” for his first and great aspiration was to obtain poetic fame, and one of his most bitter disappointments was his failure to do so. His first works were poems. At the age of fifteen he saw in himself the soul of a poet; he even had intimations of genius. But until 1827 he lived and wrote his poetry in anonymous isolation. He did not dare to circulate his poems among his *Globe* colleagues and he had not yet established any contact with the poets who gravitated around Victor Hugo. In 1827, however, he and Hugo met, and it was no coincidence that the *Vie, Poésies et Pensées de Joseph Delorme* (1829) and *Les Consolations* (1830) appeared so soon after their meeting. From Hugo and the *cénacle* he drew not only fervor and the inspiration of new ideas and feelings, but also the courage to circulate and publish his poetry. His poetic career, though destined to be brief, was launched.

By his own confession, Sainte-Beuve was an elegiac. The originality and success of *Joseph Delorme* and *Les Consolations* were due in great part to their predominantly elegiac mood; even his prose fiction was dominated by it. But the elegiac in Sainte-Beuve was also an important factor in his criticism, and it provides the first key to the relationship between his literary creations and his criticism.

In the Preface to his *Etudes françaises et étrangères* (1828) Emile Deschamps argued that the new poets would triumph in epic, lyric, and elegiac

1. References to Sainte-Beuve’s works will be within parentheses in the text. The editions used are the following: *Portraits littéraires* (Paris: Garnier, 1862); *Portraits contemporains* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1869-1871); *Premiers lundis* (Paris: Lévy, 1874); *Causeries du lundi* (Paris: Garnier, n. d.); *Nouveaux lundis* (Paris: Lévy, 1863-1870); *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*, ed. M. Allem (Paris: Garnier, n. d.); *Poésies complètes* (Paris: Lemerre, 1879); *Volupté* (Paris: Charpentier, 1881); *Correspondance générale*, ed. J. Bonnerot (Paris: Stock, 1935-1949); *Mes poisons* (Paris: Plon, 1926). Unless otherwise indicated, italics in passages cited are mine.

poetry. When he spoke of the elegy he had in mind primarily Lamartine. Sainte-Beuve, while he acknowledged Lamartine's greatness, felt that his poetry was a unique phenomenon, and that to follow in his footsteps would be merely to imitate him. What remained possible, he felt, was a development of the tradition initiated in France by André Chénier, whose poetry was more limited in scope and more intimate, in which nature was treated with "curiosité" but not in detail, and in which the most delicate parts of the soul were revealed without resorting to psychology (*Poésies comp.*, I, 217-218). Sainte-Beuve considered his own poetry a continuation of that tradition (he called the kind of elegy created by Chénier the "élégie d'analyse"), and in fact, *Joseph Delorme* was the first major effort to exploit it in the nineteenth century. In *Les Consolations*, while the themes were more elevated than in the previous volume, he employed the same technique of intimate sentimental analysis and prosaic point of departure. *Volupté* is an extended prose "élégie d'analyse," what he called the "roman d'analyse" or the "roman intime," in which his aim was to study in detail the sentimental life of his hero. *Arthur*, also a "roman d'analyse," has chapters that are strophe-like in their brevity and no less lyrical than many of the poems in *Joseph Delorme* and *Les Consolations*.

Sainte-Beuve's many observations on the nature of the elegiac poet and elegiac poetry (himself and his own poetry included) indicate that two things are constantly associated with them in his mind—*rêverie* and *tendresse*. Furthermore, *rêverie* and *tendresse* are themselves so closely related that the one rarely turns up without the other in his writings. In a note, for example, he confessed that he had always been an "Élégiaque et un rêveur."² In *Les Consolations* he spoke of himself as "une âme . . . tournée à la rêverie et à la tendresse" (*Poésies comp.*, II, 8), and in *Volupté* (not autobiographical in all its details, but a fairly reliable record of his spiritual development) he described the part of the hero's soul under analysis as "languissant, oisif, attachant, et privé, mystérieux et furtif, rêveur jusqu'à la subtilité, tendre jusqu'à la mollesse, voluptueux enfin" (page 1). These and similar remarks clearly show the association of *élégiaque* with *rêverie* and *tendresse* as they relate to Sainte-Beuve himself; in his remarks on elegiac poetry the association is equally clear. In the Dedication to *Les Consolations* he spoke of poetry as a "nourriture exquise" that has curative powers in moral crises like the one he had undergone; "La poésie est cette nourriture par excellence, et de toutes les formes de poésie, la forme lyrique plus qu'aucune autre, et de tous les genres de poésie lyrique le genre rêveur, personnel, l'élégie ou le roman d'analyse, en particulier" (*Poésies comp.*, II, 9). *Joseph Delorme* contains the assertion that the poet is best suited to perceive the harmony of the universe, and that the elegiac above all is capable of this "marriage" between the "echo of his voice and the music of the world": "... cela est vrai surtout du poète lyrique, tendre et rêveur . . ." (*Poésies comp.*, I, 219). He did not say "poète élégiaque" in the last instance, but in the light of the passages cited above his meaning is obvious.

2. *Mes poisons*, p. 120.

In effect what we have is an identification of the concept *élégiaque* with *rêverie* and *tendresse*; and thus, whenever Sainte-Beuve speaks of elegiac poetry the two terms almost inevitably turn up. But even when he does not speak of elegiac poetry the terms are juxtaposed. He says that some of Fontaney's poems are marked by "une *rêverie tendre et gracieuse*";³ that Le Brun had "*aucune disposition rêveuse et tendre.*" (*Port. litt.*, I, 153). The link between the two is not hard to find. Like Rousseau and his spiritual progeny Sainte-Beuve was starved for tenderness. When, in 1830, he expressed his generation's need of "infinite tenderness" (*Premiers lundis*, I, 318) he was speaking for himself in particular, for he went through life vainly seeking it. In him were combined a hypersensuality with the kind of aspiration he detected in Byron, Chateaubriand and Musset (among others), who, though in love, always seek beyond, try to grasp the impossible, and embrace the infinite (*Lundis*, XV, 290). He too spent a lifetime in an empty search for the ideal; even the prolonged escapade with Adèle Hugo brought only frustration. It was only in his reveries that he was able—and then only fleetingly—to satisfy his need for "infinite tenderness."

Rêverie and *tendresse* are among the five or six most common and most important terms in Sainte-Beuve's critical vocabulary. *Rêverie*, as a matter of fact, is often synonymous with *imagination* in his criticism. In the last "Pensée" of *Joseph Delorme* he echoed the belief that poetry is born of reverie: "S'il m'avait été donné d'organiser ma vie à mon plaisir, j'aurais voulu qu'elle pût avoir pour devise: *L'art dans la rêverie, et la rêverie dans l'art.*"⁴ *Les Consolations* was the product of a certain "disposition *rêveuse*" (*Corr.*, I, 172). In articles on Racine and Chénier he referred to the moments in which the poetic imagination operates as "*heures de rêverie*" (*Port. litt.*, I, 97, 163). Thus, like tenderness, poetry is the creature of reverie, and often, in Sainte-Beuve's works, poetry and tenderness are merged in the idea of woman; the dividing line between the life of poetry and the life of love often disappears. See, for example, how he characterized Chénier's elegies: "*L'élégie d'André Chénier est molle, fraîche, blonde, gracieusement éplorée, voluptueuse, avec une teinte de tristesse, et chaste même dans sa sensualité*" (*Port. litt.*, I, 156). The description would be more apt if it were intended for a woman. In the case of his own works the identification of the love-object with his artistic creations was explicit: see the note cited below, in which he said that writing a novel was only an indirect way of loving and expressing his love.

In one of his favorite poetic images, the boat image, can be found a perfect symbolic representation of the merging of love, poetry, and criticism. In "Adieux à la Poésie" the poet sees himself in a boat off the shore of poetry, whose humid sands and rocks he has kissed and embraced (*Poésies comp.*, I, 65). In the seventh "Pensée" of *Joseph Delorme* the critical mind is seen as a winding river that embraces the monuments of poetry along its shores; the critic is a bark that takes the curious voyager to visit the shores

3. *Mercur de France*, XXIV (1829), 35.

4. *Poésies complètes*, I, 221. Italics Sainte-Beuve's.

of poetry (*ibid.*, page 215). Amaury, the hero of *Volupté*, has a vision in which he finds himself sailing on a lake; the lake is Madame de Couaën, and Amaury describes in great detail the delight he experiences in exploring its mysteries (pages 112-113). The constant elements in these three examples are the bodies of water and their shores, representing literature, or poetry, or the beloved, and the boat, or boat voyager, representing in turn the poet, the critic, and the lover. In the vocabulary of his criticism a similar phenomenon can be observed: the critic speaks of poetry in the same way that the poet-novelist speaks of women and love. Perhaps the best example of this is the passage cited above, on Chénier's elegies. There are many others, however. For example, a passage from *Arthur*, written to describe a woman, should be seen in the light of what he wrote about some of Fontaney's poems (marked by "une rêverie tendre et gracieuse"): "Elle redevint rêveuse comme à la fin du dernier hiver, *tendre*, plus *tendre* que jamais. . ."⁵ In one of his sonnets he identified the image of a woman with reverie and voluptuousness:

Mais, au sommet du front, où le flot séparé
Découle en deux ruisseaux et montre un lit nacré,
Là je crois voir Amour voltiger sur la rive,

Nager la *Volupté* sur deux vagues d'azur,
Ou sur un vert gazon, sur un sable d'or pur,
La *Rêverie* assise, aux yeux bleus et pensive.

(*Poésies comp.*, I, 78.)

(*Volupté* is also one of the common terms in his critical vocabulary.) He made a similar use of other terms. One of his pet phrases was "*doux et tendre*": in one poem he spoke of a "fantôme *doux et tendre*," in another, of an "œil *doux et tendre*" (*Poésies comp.*, I, 61, 105). That, however, was precisely the phrase he was wont to use to characterize Racine (*Port. litt.*, I, 88, 499). It will come as no surprise that he used the word *charme* frequently to speak of women and love, and also to describe the quality of a work or an author. In many instances the word had little or no definable meaning; as in eighteenth-century literature and criticism it most often signified 'pleasure.' But there were times when he used the term absolutely literally: when, for example, he spoke of the hero's reconciliation with Madame H. in *Arthur* as "une *magie* dont le *charme* opérait."⁶ Here again, however, the vocabulary is precisely that of a literary judgement made in connection with Chateaubriand: "Pour qu'il y ait *charme*, il faut qu'il y ait talisman, et quand celui-ci manque . . . il n'y a ni *magie*, ni poésie (*Chateaubriand*. . . , I, 213, in note).

Sainte-Beuve seems to have been aware that the elegiac in him was related in an important way to the critic. When Jacques-Germain Chaudes-

5. S. de Lovenjoul, *Sainte-Beuve inconnu* (Paris: Plon, 1900), p. 110.

6. *Ibid.*

Aigues pointed out the link between Sainte-Beuve's creative and critical works, the latter wrote immediately to signify his approval of this acute perception: "Quand au fond même des idées, il en est du moins dont je puis vous dire que vous avez rencontré tout à fait la mienne, par exemple quand vous avez considéré les *Critiques et Portraits* comme une dépendance de la partie *élégiaque* et romanesque, plutôt que comme des critiques expresses" (*Corr.*, II, 384). That was in 1838. Some time later, in a retrospective note, he said: "Ce que j'ai voulu en critique, c'a été d'y introduire une sorte de *charme*, et en même temps plus de *réalité* qu'on n'en mettait auparavant; en un mot, de la *poésie* à la fois et quelque *physiologie*."⁷

In addition to providing him with much of the stimulus to publish his poetry, Sainte-Beuve's participation in the activities of the *cénacle* was a means of organizing, articulating, and testing his ideas (and sometimes, discreetly, those of others) about the poet and poetry. Many of them found their way into the "Pensées" of *Joseph Delorme*, others appeared in articles, particularly in the series on seventeenth and eighteenth-century authors published in the *Revue de Paris* in 1829 and 1830. In the opening pages of his first article on Racine (December, 1829) he stated one of the most important, his distinction between the primitive and the studious poets, which constitutes the foundation for the subsequent development of his critical "code." His notion of the primitive poet differed little from earlier English and German versions of original genius: the primitive is characterized by the naturalness of his poetic gift and his inexhaustible creativity, while the studious poet requires careful cultivation for the development of his talent. In his essay on Molière (1835) Sainte-Beuve elaborated on this distinction: the primitive, he wrote, possesses a dramatic, or creative, faculty that is characterized by its force, facility, and fecundity, whereas the studious poet (in the Molière essay called the "poète d'étude et de goût") lacks these qualities. In the Racine article he gave Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, Dante, and Shakespeare as examples of the primitive, Horace, Vergil, Tasso, Boileau, and Racine, of the studious; to these, in the Molière essay, he added Molière, Rabelais, Cervantes, Le Sage, Fielding, Beaumarchais, and Sir Walter Scott among the primitives, and Gray and Pope among the studious, declaring that Molière and Shakespeare were the greatest of the primitives.

It is clear that in the Molière and Racine pieces Sainte-Beuve did not use the term *primitif* in a temporal sense. (In the Molière essay the term comes up only two or three times and seems to have lost its importance, but he is developing the distinction first made in his discussion of Racine.) Nor did he use *poète* in the conventional sense of the term. He was speaking, rather, of a certain type of creator and creative imagination, and like many of his contemporaries he saw in the "primitive" the creator par excellence. Also like them, he made fecund creativity the principal criterion of artistic

7. *Mes poisons*, p. 120. Italics Sainte-Beuve's.

achievement. This is how he put it in a letter to Victor Pavie in 1835: "Le plus grand des plaisirs pour quiconque est un peu artiste, c'est la fertilité et la fréquence de la création, c'est (pour parler votre langage bientôt paternel) le moment où la mère délivrée prend dans ses bras l'enfant et le baise et le trouve beau" (*Corr.*, I, 528). Here he speaks of fecundity in terms of the pleasure it affords the creator, but in his early criticism he points to it as a sign of the highest type of creative genius.

The young Sainte-Beuve would have liked to possess the kind of natural genius that poured forth creations effortlessly and endlessly. His creative vein was thin, however, at least in so far as his poetry and prose fiction were concerned: three collections of poetry, one novel (and the fragment of another), and several short stories attest to his lack of a fecund imagination. (In our times this would be no cause for shame, but Sainte-Beuve had to compare himself with creative giants like Hugo and Balzac.) He expressed his awareness of this relative sterility in an article on Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (1833), in which he observed that there are two kinds of poets, those who have a capacity for invention, who are endowed with an imagination that extends beyond their sensibility, and those whose talent is not distinct from their sensibility, and who, "par une confusion un peu débile mais touchante, ne sont poètes qu'en tant qu'amants et présentement affectés" (*Port. cont.*, II, 98). Though it is nowhere implied within the passage itself, Sainte-Beuve was indulging in discreet personal confession (as so often in his criticism). A brief note, written much later, said explicitly what that passage had only hinted. Why had he stopped writing novels? Because, he said, his imagination had always been exclusively at the service of his sensibility. For him, writing a novel was only an indirect way of loving and expressing his love (*Port. litt.*, III, 541), i.e., he was one of those whose talent is inseparable from their sensibility, and who are poets only when lovers and in love. To use the terms that he himself used in the Molière essay, neither as a poet nor as a novelist did he possess the "dramatic faculty," but rather what he called the "génie lyrique, élégiaque," antagonist of the former, and which, because of its inability to express any thing but the individual sensibility, weakens the artist's creative powers (*Port. litt.*, II, 50).

Sainte-Beuve's failure as a creative artist galled him throughout his life. The fact that he was not able to keep pace with Hugo, Lamartine, and Balzac explains at least part of the bitterness that he felt toward them; there can be little doubt that he envied them. Yet the profound creative urge that stirred the Romantic generation, and which he himself expressed and helped to foster in concepts like that of the primitive poet, found its way into his criticism and helped to produce a critical art that was creation in its own right. I am speaking here of the portrait, the beginning of biographical and historical criticism, which in Sainte-Beuve's hands was a deliberate creative effort. He had understood and expressed this effort as

early as 1828, when he described the delight he experienced in reading biographical literature and spoke of the ability of some biographers to make a subject come to life: "... le faire vivre, se mouvoir et parler, comme il a dû faire; le suivre en son intérieur et dans ses mœurs domestiques aussi avant que l'on peut..." (*Port. litt.*, I, 29); the rest of that article (on Pierre Corneille) was one of his first attempts at literary portraiture. He returned to the subject of creative criticism (he did not use the expression) several years later (1831) in his article on Diderot:

J'ai toujours aimé les correspondances, les conversations, les pensées, tous les détails du caractère, des mœurs, de la biographie, en un mot, des grands écrivains; surtout quand cette biographie comparée n'existe pas déjà rédigée par un autre, et qu'on a pour son propre compte à le construire, à la composer. On s'enferme pendant une quinzaine de jours avec les écrits d'un mort célèbre, poète ou philosophe; on l'étudie, on le retourne, on l'interroge à loisir; on le fait poser devant soi. . . . Chaque trait s'ajoute à son tour, et prend place de lui-même dans cette physiologie qu'on essaye de reproduire. . . . Au type vague, abstrait, général, qu'une première vue avait embrassé, se mêle et s'incorpore par degrés une réalité individuelle, précise, de plus en plus accentuée et vivement scintillante; on sent naître, on voit venir la ressemblance; et le jour, le moment où l'on a saisi le tic familier, le sourire révélateur, la gerçure indéfinissable, la ride intime et douloureuse qui se cache en vain sous les cheveux déjà clair-semés,—à ce moment l'analyse disparaît dans la création, le portrait parle et vit, on a trouvé l'homme. (*Port. litt.*, I, 239-240.)

The process he describes—the one he used in creating his portraits—may differ somewhat from the strictly creative one, for the creator does not always and necessarily start out with a set of facts; but the difference is, after all, a slight one. The important fact here is that his goal in the portrait, and the joy that he felt as he made his way toward it, were those of the creator, hardly different from what he intended and felt in the composition of *Volupté*, or *Arthur*. Thus in this effort to see analysis disappear in creation, to bring to life an author long dead, criticism and creation were fused together. In one of his notes Sainte-Beuve declared, in effect, that for him they were one: "La critique, telle que je voudrais la pratiquer, est une invention et une création perpétuelles" (*Port. litt.*, III, 546). What he intended in those words is not entirely clear, but it is my belief (based on an extensive study of his critical vocabulary) that he had in mind the kind of creativity best exemplified in the authors whom he had called "primitives." And curiously enough, it was in his criticism that he realized the ideal that, as a poet and novelist, he failed to realize. In his series of portraits he manifested the faculty which he called "dramatique, et, à proprement parler, créatrice" (*Port. litt.*, II, 48), plus the force, the fecundity, and the facility which, in his view, accompany it.

The critic himself seemed not to be fully aware of the escape of his creative impulse from the realm of art into that of criticism. For though, as in

the passages cited above, he could speak of creative criticism, he could also say, as he did in his article on Bayle, that the critical genius was the opposite of the "génie créateur et poétique" (*Port. litt.*, I 370). This is understandable, for it would be foolish to think that the young Sainte-Beuve *consciously* strove to achieve in his criticism what he had failed to achieve in his poetry and novels. Nor can it be said that the creative impulse was alone responsible for the form that he gave to part of his criticism: the growth of historical science, for example, was undoubtedly a contributing factor. A historical method, however, does not necessarily produce art (compare Taine), and Sainte-Beuve's portraits are art forms. For in them he attempted not only to analyze and judge a literary phenomenon, but also to create the image of a man. When his attempts succeeded, criticism and creation became one, and the continuing vitality of his portraits testifies to the degree of his success. Other nineteenth-century critics tried to use the same form and failed; they possessed Sainte-Beuve's method but lacked his innate creativity.

The distinction that Sainte-Beuve made between the studious and the primitive poet is one in terms of which a history of his literary tastes could be written. It has been found paradoxical that he could begin his career with such enthusiasm for his contemporaries, and then turn against them with public jeremiads and virulent private remarks, bemoaning decadence in the one case and assailing personalities in the other. His strictures on Hugo, Lamartine, Vigny, Balzac, Michelet, Chateaubriand *et al.* have been ascribed to animosity nourished by personal and professional jealousy. But while the part that his feelings played in his critical judgments is impossible to gauge accurately, it was most certainly smaller than some of his detractors have believed. For if one examines his early criticism carefully, one will find more than a sufficient explanation of his violent attacks on Balzac and other contemporaries, an explanation in critical, not personal, terms.

It must be remembered that the young Sainte-Beuve spoke of the Romantic poets as the successors of Chénier; he insisted on that throughout the "Pensées" of *Joseph Delorme*. Though it might seem that he was thinking only of the innovations that Chénier introduced, actually something more important and more personal was implied in the claim that both he and his generation were following in Chénier's foot-steps (which he must have known not to be true). None of the major poets felt this to be true of them: Lamartine and Vigny did not fully appreciate Chénier; the young Hugo admired him but did not see in him a poetic ancestor. Why then should Sainte-Beuve seem to have believed so firmly in the posterity of Chénier? For two related reasons: first, because as so often in his criticism, he was viewing the new poetry through his own; second, and perhaps more important, because he was pointing in a direction which he hoped his contemporaries would take. What the young—and the older—Sainte-Beuve

wished for his generation of poets, and what he desired most of all for his own poetry was the fulfillment of Chénier's exhortation: "Sur des pensers nouveaux faisons des vers antiques." In his early writings the desire is implicit; much later, it is stated explicitly. In his article on Théodore de Banville (1857) he summed up the aspirations and accomplishments of the Romantic poets; of his own he wrote: "D'autres, à la suite de ce Grec retrouvé qui se nomme André Chénier, eussent voulu recréer et former, à leur usage, dans un coin de notre société industrielle, une petite colonie de l'ancienne Grèce; ils aimaient les fêtes, la molle orgie couronnée de roses, les festins avec chants, les pleurs de Camille, et la réconciliation facile; chaque matin une élégie, chaque soir une poursuite et une tendresse" (*Lundis*, XIV, 69-70). In those lines the significance of his distinction between the primitive and the studious poets becomes clear: when he made it (1829) his enthusiasm would seem to have been entirely for the primitives and their descendants, the Romanticists, rather than for the studious, or Classical, poets. There came a time, however, when his enthusiasm for the primitives began to wane and to pass to their opposites. It is difficult to determine exactly when this reversal took place, but it certainly had its beginnings around the time of the July Revolution, when we detect the first signs of his break with Hugo and with the Romantic movement as a whole; it began to manifest itself openly and repeatedly after he returned from Lausanne in 1838. It was after that date that he began to fulminate against certain tendencies in the literature of the times and to express the belief that the entire Romantic movement had aborted. He sensed what he considered great dangers in the kind of talent exemplified by Balzac, a contemporary "primitive," and he gradually turned toward the studious poets, those whom, in the Molière essay, he had called the "grands poètes d'étude et de goût," and among whom he had included Chénier. The inclusion of Chénier among them provides the key to Sainte-Beuve's evolution after 1830. The man who in 1827 considered himself a follower of Chénier, and thus by implication himself a "poète d'étude et de goût," was fulfilling his own artistic personality when he railed at Balzac or Chateaubriand. In his opening lecture at the Ecole Normale in 1858 he said: "On ne naît pas quand on veut, on ne choisit pas son moment pour éclore; on n'évite pas, surtout dans l'enfance, les courants généraux qui passent dans l'air..." (*Lundis*, XV, 370). The "on" in that sentence was undoubtedly Sainte-Beuve, the "courants généraux," those that had dominated his generation; had he been able to choose his times he would probably have elected the late seventeenth century. It was only natural that a poet-critic who considered himself a descendant of the Classical tradition should turn against those who represented its very opposite.

Sainte-Beuve's concepts of the primitive, the studious, and the elegiac poet, formulated in his earliest critical writings, and stemming in part at least from an effort to define his own poetic nature, continued to operate in

his criticism until the end of his career. The elegiac mood remained a favorite one; creativity, central in his notion of the primitive, and a Romantic watchword, persisted as an important criterion. But he saw in Romantic literature the beginnings of decadence, which he ascribed primarily to the lack of a critical faculty and taste. The essence of his final position can be found in his summing up on Balzac (1850); "La puissance propre à M. de Balzac a besoin d'être définie: c'était celle d'une nature riche, copieuse, opulente, pleine d'idées, de types et d'inventions, qui récidive sans cesse et n'est jamais lasse; c'était cette puissance-là qu'il possédait et non l'autre puissance, qui est sans doute la plus vraie, celle qui domine et régit une œuvre, et qui fait que l'artiste y reste supérieur comme à sa création" (*Lundis* II, 451). He had discussed both those powers in the Molière essay fifteen years before, but at that time the first, or creative, power was the more important: "C'est dans la récidive, dans la production facile et infatigable que se déclare le don dramatique. Tous les grands dramatiques, quelques-uns même fabuleux en cela, ont montré cette fertilité primitive de génie, une fécondité digne des patriarches. Voilà bien la preuve du don. . ." (*Port. litt.*, II, 51). By 1850 Sainte-Beuve had changed his mind: the superior artist was not the simply fecund "maker," but the one who could dominate and control his creations. It was this change, foreshadowed in his earliest criticism, that could make Sainte-Beuve say, toward the end of his career, that Vergil, a studious poet, was the "prince of poets" (*Nov. lundis*, XIII, 315).

Columbia University

THE SURREALIST IMAGE

By Anna Balakian

IN HIS FIRST MANIFESTO, published in 1924, André Breton, who has maintained a pontifical position in the surrealist movement, declared that surrealism was a new mode of expression, which he and his colleagues had discovered and wished to put at the disposal of others. When the following year he took over the direction of the periodical, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, he stated that the principal aim of its founders was to raise the French language from the abject insignificance and stagnation to which it had been reduced under the influence of successful authors like Anatole France. Five years later, in his second manifesto, he once more contended that the chief activity of surrealists was in the field of verbal reconstruction, and that social and political questions were of secondary concern. In *Entretiens* (1952), considering surrealist activities in retrospect, Breton again asserts that their purpose was "essentially and before all else" to put language in "a state of effervescence."

Now linguistic innovations are an essential function of the *ars poetica*, whether we look back on the enrichments of vocabulary achieved by the Renaissance poets, the discriminate choice of words of the classicists, the emotional flexibility of language discovered by the romanticists, or the elasticity of connotation cultivated by the symbolists. As Shelley pointed out in his *Defense of Poetry*, the poet, through his use of language, establishes the analogies among life's realities, but every so often when these associations have grown stale and lost their power of conveying integral thought, it is up to him to refresh his imagery and thereby preserve the vitality of the language.

Breton, together with Louis Aragon, Paul Eluard, Tristan Tzara and some fifty other poets and artists, formed a brotherhood of intellectual pioneers in the 1920's, well versed in the history of literature, esthetics and philosophy, and possessed of a very strong capacity for convictions. They felt that they had arrived at a crucial moment in the development of the French language. They considered literature at an *impasse* and called the manner of writing of their elders degrading and cowardly. But instead of confining themselves to a local renovation of the poetic form, they welcomed all poets of any nationality to participate in their systematic cult of the latent possibilities of language. They believed that their linguistic revolution could not only revive literature but lead to a new understanding of the objects designated by language.

A number of works are available which mark a consensus of opinion and establish the bases of surrealist composition: Breton's two manifestoes, Aragon's *Traité du style*, and a series of articles to be found in the annals of

La Révolution Surréaliste (1924-29) and *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* (1931-33), among them the significant "Essai sur la situation de la poésie" by Tristan Tzara.

The creative role of language was strongly stressed in the surrealists' concept of poetry. Poetry was no longer to be an expression of ideas or emotions but the creation of a series of images, which would not necessarily owe their existence to an *a priori* subject. "Images think for me," says Paul Eluard.¹ And Aragon explains: "In our time there are no longer any ideas; they are as rare as smallpox, but it goes without saying that there are images caught, and for once well caught, real slaps in the face of any kind of good sense."² Breton calls ideas vain and ineffective compared to the force of the sudden, unexpected image. In his famous article, "Misère de la poésie," he tried to come to the rescue of Aragon, accused of subversiveness in his poem, "Front Rouge." But as far as its esthetic value was concerned, he dismissed the controversial poem as being a hundred years behind the times despite its so-called modern subject. The fact that it had a definite subject matter to develop belied the contemporary state of poetic evolution, which according to Breton banishes unity of subject matter from the poem. It is Breton's belief that the speed of thinking is not superior to that of linguistic expression, which, therefore, should not be subservient to logical thought. Words brought together by creative intuition could explode in a dynamic image which would be more provocative than are abortive thoughts seeking words to give them a countenance.³ Images, then, are not to be *directed* by thoughts but conducive to them, and the function of the poem in regard to the reader is what Eluard has called "donner à voir," *to give sight*. It is up to the reader to participate in the creative act of the author by deriving from his own pool of personal associations his particular stream of thought. And in order to allow the reader freedom of mental association there must be a compression of language and a minimum denominator of self-evident meaning.

Now the surrealists did not have in mind the type of imagery put into the French language by Verlaine and Mallarmé, i.e., terminology abstract in meaning and so undefined in connotation that it suggests moods rather than visions. On the contrary, their vocabulary is concrete in shape and color, in texture and intent, sometimes so precise as to be exclusive in use and technical in meaning. The words serving as stimuli or irritants to the senses were to produce their own images. Language was to be endowed with a benzedrine-like quality, and expertly used, could grant pleasures beyond those induced by narcotics. Breton compares the spontaneity with which these images offer themselves and their habit-forming character to the stupefying state of mind produced by artificial paradises. In this state of subconscious stimulation the poet is alerted to the sensations that words

1. Eluard, "Défense de savoir," *L'Amour La Poésie*, p. 122.

2. Aragon, *Traité du style*, p. 48.

3. See Breton, *Manifestes du surréalisme*, pp. 60-61.

can produce much in the manner that the painter is attracted to objects, which mean a different thing to each artist and speak a different language to each spectator. The surrealist poet in his use of words was approaching the painter's technique, and that is how a closer bond was established between poetry and art than ever before, and a greater gap between poetry and the literary forms that continued to have as their aim the expression of ideas.

A serious study of the quality and range of words was, then, the *sine qua non* of poetry. A generation before the surrealists, Guillaume Apollinaire had envisaged the possibility of experiments and investigations in this field. Breton and his colleagues went so far as to establish a Central Bureau of Surrealist Research to experiment with writing and to accept communications relative to their research from outside their ranks. In a chapter of *Les Pas perdus*, characteristically called "Words without Wrinkles," Breton stated that the greatest poetic act was the understanding of the full destiny of words. He suggested ways of doing this: by studying the words themselves, the reaction of words to each other, the appearance of words and the effect of the figurative meaning on the literal. To such considerations could be attributed provocative surrealist titles as "Le Revolver à cheveux blancs," "Les Yeux fertiles," "L'Homme approximatif," "Le Poisson soluble," "Le Paysan de Paris." Breton explains that it took him six months to write his poem, "Forêt-Noire," (of which the actual word count is *thirty*), for he virtually "coddled" the words to determine the space they permitted between each other, their tangency with innumerable other words which would not appear in the poem, but with which the written words came in contact in the author's mind during the process of composition. The most evident if somewhat playful demonstration of the spontaneous suggestive power of words was a glossary composed by Michel Leiris, which consisted of basic words and the images they evoke, as for example: "humain—la main humide, moite. L'as-tu connue, cette main? ingénu—le génie nu; langage—bagage lent de l'esprit; révolution—solution de tout rêve; rumeur—brume des bruits qui meurent au fond des rues; suicide—idée sûre de sursis."⁴

The poet's tolerance to words had to be increased; he could help himself by dismissing the wrong words from his mind. Which are the wrong words? Those that have wandered too far from their concrete specification, those that have served too often to form rhymes, those that have received the tag "poetic" through excessive usage in poetry. Abused words can gain a new value if their primitive meaning is sought out. Sometimes it is even advisable to give a word the wrong meaning, for words do not really tell a lie, and if they come to the poet's mind at a given moment it is because they fulfill a poetic necessity. Breton discovered that he sometimes unwittingly used a word whose true meaning he had forgotten; looking it up later he would find that his use of the word was not etymologically in-

4. Michel Leiris, "Glossaire," *Révolution Surréaliste*, III, 6-7.

correct. For a more drastic interpretation of the meaning of words we can refer to Aragon's *Traité du style*, in which he claims that dictionaries do not cover the full connotation of words; there is meaning contained in each syllable, according to him, and inherent in the very spelling of the words. Words are what another surrealist, Arpad Mezei, called "Multidimensional."⁵ Etymology, which is only one of its dimensions, has unfortunately been overstressed and has become its dead weight, according to Breton. Michel Leiris considers it a perfectly useless science; the poet must look for the secret ramifications of words into the entire domain of language, the canals created by the association of sounds, of forms and ideas. When this inner working of words is understood, language becomes prophetic and supplies a thread with which to guide us in the labyrinth of the mind.⁶

To discover, then, what one might call the high voltage of words was to be the key to surrealist poetry. But in the composition of the poem, what is even more important than the right word is the happy marriage of words into illuminating (not elucidating) associations, which become the basis of the image. The surrealists found in automatic writing a rich hunting ground for the capture of word associations. It assumed the same importance in the technical equipment of the surrealist as the practice of scales to the musician. In this quasi-hypnotic state the hand writes or draws (for the same thing can be done in art) almost alone, and the pen or pencil transcribes spontaneously the subconscious affiliations we feel between words. These "Surrealist texts," as they are called, must not be taken for poems. They are just a means of developing or enriching poetic consciousness; they also break down traditional word associations which are too deep-set to be warded off consciously, and which are not only ineffective in imagery but even detrimental to the component words involved in the tedious alliance. Words should be drawn together not by emotional kinship but by what Baudelaire called "sorcellerie évocatoire," or in the more recent terminology of Aragon, "puissance incantatoire." Sometimes it is nothing more than assonance or alliteration, sometimes symmetry of appearance, sometimes antithesis. Of such nature are expressions like "femmes fugaces," "le très coquet caméléon de l'entendement," "le désert vertical," "l'aigle sexuel," taken at random from the poetry of Eluard and Breton.

To go one step further, this unexpected linking of words became the foundation of the new metaphor, which, instead of being based on analogy, is derived from divergence and contradiction. A more recent surrealist has put it somewhat emphatically in saying: "The capital fact of the entire history of the mind lies perhaps in this discovery of surrealism: the word 'comme' is a *verb* which does not signify 'tel que'." The metaphor used to

5. Arpad Mezei, *Le Surréalisme en 1947*, (Edition Pierre à Feu, 1947), p. 59.

6. Michel Leiris, loc. cit., III, 7.

7. Jean Brun, "Le Problème de la sensation et le surréalisme", *Le Surréalisme en 1947*, p. 90.

be considered the most effective means of representing the *image*—which was preconceived in the writer's mind. Now the cart is placed before the horse, and it is the unusual metaphor that creates the even more extraordinary image, which is composed of two or more elements having no logical relationship with each other. One of the first to have stated the principle clearly was the so-called cubist poet, Pierre Reverdy, whom the surrealists revered as their master. Breton quoted him in his first manifesto and praises him again in his latest book, *Entretiens*, for his "magie verbale." Reminiscing about Reverdy's discussions of the nature of the poetic image, Breton esteems him as an even more important theoretician than Guillaume Apollinaire. In *Le Gant de crin* Reverdy had defined the image as the spontaneous meeting of two very distant realities whose relationship is grasped solely by the mind. Reverdy, moreover, observed that the more remote was the relationship between the two realities, the stronger became the resulting image. On the other hand, the power or even the life of the image was threatened if it were to be totally acceptable to the senses. Following this line of thinking, Breton finds that comparison is consequently a poor axis for the image, and that a radical modification is necessary in the very structure of the analogy. The surrealist image has to be a far-fetched chance encounter of two realities whose effect is likened to the light produced by the contact of two electrical conductors. In the ordinary image, the terms of which are chosen on the basis of similarity, the difference in potential between them is negligible and no spark results. The value of the surrealist image, therefore, consists not in an equivalence but in the subtraction of one set of associations from the other. The greater the disparity, the more powerful the light, just as in electricity the greater the difference in potential of the two live wires the greater the voltage. The resulting spark of imagery is first dazzling to the mind, which subsequently accepts and appreciates its reality. Thus by their inadvertent function the metaphors and resulting images increase the poet's scope of understanding of himself, and of the succinct relationships in the world about him. Says René Crevel: "The writer makes his metaphor, but his metaphor unveils, throws light on its author." Images constructed according to this notion would contain a dose of absurdity and that element of surprise, which, in the opinion of Guillaume Apollinaire, is one of the fundamental resources of the modern mind.⁸ This type of poetic imagery rises on the same foundation as the "fortuitous meeting," in the words of Max Ernst, of two objects in a surrealist painting.⁹ The effect that Dali created by placing a telephone and an omelette on the same range of vision in his tableau, "Sublime moment," is a result of the same technique as the juxtaposition in a verbal image such as "un couvert d'argent sur une

8. See Apollinaire, "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," *Mercure de France*, 1^{er} déc. 1918.

9. Max Ernst: "la rencontre fortuite de deux réalités distantes sur un plan non-convenant" ("Comment on force l'inspiration," *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution*, VI, 43-45).

toile d'araignée."¹⁰ In his poem, "L'Union libre," Breton employs what would on the surface appear the hackneyed procedure of describing the beauty of the beloved through a series of analogies. Yet the associations of the physical characteristics of the woman are with such unexpected objects as footprints of mice, the brim of a swallow's nest, the slate roof of a hothouse, mist on window panes, cut hay, quicksilver, wet chalk, gladiola, to mention but a few, that the reader is left without the slightest photographic image of the woman but with the spark suggesting her overwhelming power upon the poet.

Breton gives classifications for the surrealist image, for which examples can readily be found in his works and in those of other surrealists:

1. *Contradictions.* For instance in one of his earlier surrealist texts Breton plays on the contradiction of the past, present and future tenses all used together to create the impossible phenomenon of the movement of nonexistent curtains on the windows of future houses:

Les rideaux qui n'ont jamais été levés
Flottent aux fenêtres des maisons qu'on construira.¹¹

2. *One of the terms of the image is hidden.* This can be noticed in a section of Eluard's "La Rose publique," consisting of a series of incomplete images:

Le long des murailles meublées d'orchestres décrepits
Dardant leurs oreilles de plomb vers le jour
A l'affût d'une caresse corps avec la foudre.¹²

3. *The image starts out sensationally, then abruptly closes the angle of its compass.* Witness the following line from Breton's "La Mort rose," in which he juxtaposes his dreams with the sound of the eyelids of water and suddenly finishes the image with an unsatisfactory "dans l'ombre":

Mes rêves seront formels et vains comme le bruit de paupières de
l'eau dans l'ombre.¹³

Under this heading would come all the unsuccessful images which do not measure up to the expectations aroused by the beginning of the metaphor.

4. *The image possesses the character of hallucination.* Typical of this is the entire poem "L'Homme approximatif" of Tristan Tzara with its agglomeration of animal, vegetable, and mineral words, coming every so often to a head in this strange refrain:

car rocailleux dans mes vêtements de schiste j'ai voué mon attente
au tourment du désert oxydé
au robuste avènement du feu¹⁴

10. Breton, "Sur la Route qui monte et descend," *Le Revolver à cheveux blancs*.

11. Breton, "Textes surréalistes," *Révolution Surréaliste*, VI, 6.

12. Eluard, *Choix de poèmes*, p. 144.

13. Breton, *Le Revolver à cheveux blancs*.

14. Tzara, "L'Homme approximatif," *Révolution Surréaliste*, XII, 18.

5. *The image lends to the abstract the mask of the concrete.* In this category would fall at least half of the surrealist images. Take for instance simple transfers such as the following: eternity incorporated in a wrist watch, life in a virgin passport, thought becoming a white curve on a dark background; or double-deckers such as:

Et dans le sac à main il y avait mon rêve ce flacon de sels
Que seule a respirés la marraine de Dieu.¹⁵

or:

La vie serait la goutte de poison
Du non-sens introduite dans le chant de l'alouette
au-dessus des coquelicots.¹⁶

6. *The image implies the negation of some elementary physical property.* Eluard will startle his reader by telling him that the earth is blue like an orange, and raspberries are white; and in Breton's poetry you might hear the sound of wet street lamps or of a bell made of straw, or find him wishing for the sun to come out at night, or be assured that the tree he has chopped down will forever remain green.

7. Finally there is the broad classification which would include *all images that provoke laughter*; such as in Benjamin Péret's "Au bout du monde":

Bêtes comme des saucisses dont la choucroute a déjà été mangée.¹⁷

or Breton's "Tournesol":

Une ferme prospérait en plein Paris
Et ses fenêtres donnaient sur la voie lactée.¹⁸

The composition of a poem is like an upside down pyramid, beginning with a word or metaphor, leading to an image and through conscious or unconscious associations to a series of images. The poet finds himself in a magnetic field wherein by the attraction of one image to another the objects of reality are deviated from their traditional roles. The result is an incongruous unit which transmits a marvelous vision of the world, and something *beyond* the world of sensory data. By cultivating that very sense of deformity and disproportion which Edgar Allen Poe long before the surrealists had attributed to the poet, they seem to have gone into direct competition with the scientist; for the kind of linguistic reality they grant to the infinite could be likened to the mathematical reality given to the infinite by the number $\frac{1}{0}$ or the concrete symbol of the imaginary in the numerical term of the square root of minus one.

15. Breton, "Tournesol," *Clair de Terre*.

16. Breton, *Fata Morgana*.

17. Péret, *Révolution Surréaliste*, IV, 28.

18. Breton, "Tournesol."

What kind of syntax or sentence structure holds together these images? Here we come to a misconception that often arises concerning the ambiguity of the surrealist style: the contention that surrealists disdain grammar. The early Dada writings and some of the extreme tongue-in-cheek statements of the surrealists have done much to give this impression. But as Aragon admits, surrealism is not a refuge against style.¹⁹ On the contrary, in the best of their works the surrealists' grammar is impeccable. The most incomprehensible sentence could be parsed, for it is not the structure that is ambiguous but, as we have seen, the mating of words and the incongruous image that results. The surrealists, freed of the exigencies of rhyme, do not have to resort even to the tedious inversions so frequent in classical and romantic verse.

There are two basic structures in the surrealist poem: sentences which follow the conventional order of subject, verb and object; or a series of noun or adjective clauses which do not pretend to be parts of complete sentences but succeed each other as if enumerations of plain nouns and adjectives. Sometimes these breath groups are connected by the clever use of a present or past participle. Sometimes the two types of composition are joined into one long sentence or stanza. For instance in "L'Homme approximatif," one hundred and twenty-three breath groups form one complete sentence, and nineteen images appear before the principal verb.

The use of verbs is particularly interesting. As Robert Desnos expressed it very appropriately, the tense most often used is the Present.²⁰ Moreover, there can be noted a preponderance of the simplest verbs: *avoir*, *être*, *voir*, *aimer*, the impersonal *il y a*, which in their imprecision permit the loosest form of bonds between nouns, leaving it to the noun to establish the vision. Another significant use of the verb is the frequent occurrence of the infinitive—noncommittal, democratic, since it favors no particular subject.

The freedom of the imagery is further enhanced by the suppression of words of transition: no *ainsi*, *donc*, or and the like, since the continuity is outside of the jurisdiction of grammar and lies in the sensory associations of the reader. Indeed by the flexibility of the form the autonomy of the reader, in interpreting the poem, is increased.

In the place of connective words there occurs a great deal of juxtaposition and apposition, producing those stupefying parallels of concurrent realities of which we become aware in this type of writing.

In sum, what essentially separates the surrealist way of writing from the poetry of the preceding generations is *not* its break and emancipation from metrical form; nor does the difference lie in any disregard for grammatical structure. It is, rather, in the use of words: an enrichment of the active vocabulary of poetry, a release from verbal inhibitions, a selection

19. Aragon, *Traité du style*, p. 189.

20. Robert Desnos, "Confession d'un enfant du siècle," *Révolution Surréaliste*, VI, 18.

of word association beyond the barriers set up by logic, a new metaphor built upon these incongruous word groupings, and the images resulting from the association of one metaphor with another—which one might call the square of the metaphor. Finally, these images are cast into grammatically accurate sentences connected primarily on the basis of sensual synchronization.

What the surrealists have done is not to sacrifice clarity but to decide that this asset of prose was a liability in poetry. For French had assumed too long with M. Jourdain that what is not prose is verse. Poetry was discovered to be a different type of intellectual activity, consisting of what one might call mental deviations and linguistic alchemy.

It was a terrible test to which language was subjected, a veritable "trial of language" as Aragon had called it. That language which foreign critics have often condemned as unpoetic, as too specific, too rigid to express the ineffable dream vagueness necessary to true poetry, was now being destined to a plane of mystery and irrationalism beyond anything attempted in any of the so-called poetic languages. Recognizing this renaissance of poetry and the linguistic experimentation related to it, Apollinaire had made this challenging statement as early as 1918: "As far as can be seen there are hardly any poets today except of the French language."²¹

It is too early yet to estimate the extent of the transformation surrealism will operate on the French language, just as the effects of Du Bellay's *Défense et Illustration de la langue française* were not crystallized until the seventeenth century. The surrealists have written too much, confused liberty with license at times, and probably made five unsatisfactory images for every successful one. There has been much trial and error, and unfortunately the surrealists consider every word that falls from their pen so sacred that they have freely published their errors. But the fact remains that their vociferous rejection of standard styles has affected non-surrealists as well as surrealists and is beginning to have an effect on the poetic language of other countries as well. The surrealists consider their experimental work only the beginning of a tremendous upheaval which would test man's ability to integrate his perceptions over and above the miscellany of nature and thereby make of the poetic image not a representation but an invention of the human mind.

It is evident that in coming into contact with this type of poetry words such as *understanding*, *explanation*, *expression* are inappropriate. *Knowledge*, *empathy*, *disturbance* are the type of terms that best convey the surrealist poet's aspirations.

Syracuse University

21. Apollinaire, "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," *Mercure de France*, 1^{er} déc. 1918, p. 394.

LA DURÉE DE LA VALEUR STYLISTIQUE DU NÉOLOGISME

By Michel Riffaterre

ON NE PEUT ÉTUDIER un style sans tenir compte du choix des mots. Or un des principaux procédés de l'expressivité stylistique est la création ou l'utilisation du néologisme. On sait la fréquence du procédé chez les poètes de la Pléiade ou, plus près de nous, les Goncourt, André Gide ou Montherlant. Par néologisme, je comprends le *mot nouveau*, le *sens nouveau* d'un vocable déjà existant, mais aussi l'*emprunt* (à une langue étrangère ou à la langue spéciale d'un métier, d'un groupe social, etc.), puisque le mot d'emprunt n'est qu'un néologisme importé, au lieu d'avoir été formé sur place; j'y joins enfin les mots qui, après avoir existé en français, sont morts et paraissent neufs quand ils renaissent de l'oubli (il ne faut pas les confondre avec les archaïsmes, qui tirent précisément leur expressivité du fait que leur réemploi momentané n'atténue pas leur caractère obsolète et que ni l'écrivain ni son lecteur ne cessent d'y voir des vocables vieillies). Ces trois catégories ont en effet ceci de commun que les mots qui s'y rangent sont également nouveaux au sentiment de l'usager. Par ce caractère de nouveauté dans la conscience linguistique, ils créent un effet de surprise qui met le signifié en relief, forcent l'attention de l'auditeur ou du lecteur par leur apparition inattendue dans le vocabulaire commun de la langue, bref réunissent les conditions de l'expressivité, ressort essentiel du style.¹

Mais à mesure que le néologisme se répand dans l'usage, il se déprécie stylistiquement: de rare devenu courant, il ne provoque plus de surprise et perd sa valeur expressive *en tant que néologisme* (car il peut en garder une, soit par une forme évocatrice, soit par le caractère affectif du concept qu'il recouvre; j'écarte ces cas hybrides de cette étude. J'écarte également ceux des néologismes créés par un auteur pour un besoin accidentel qui n'ont pas survécu, comme c'est fréquemment le cas chez Huysmans: l'assimilation par la langue ne s'étant pas faite, la question de l'usure stylistique ne se pose pas). *A l'assimilation sur le plan linguistique correspond l'usure sur le plan stylistique.*

Il ne suffit donc pas, pour étudier le néologisme comme procédé stylistique voulu, de relever les mots d'apparition récente: le vrai problème est de *déterminer si, par rapport à l'état de la langue à l'époque considérée, tel néologisme est encore senti comme tel*, ou assimilé seulement dans un cercle restreint,² ou s'il n'est pas déjà assimilé par la langue. Il s'agit de se replacer

1. Voir Marouzeau, *Précis de stylistique française*, pp. 110-114; Cressot, *Le style et ses techniques*, I, III; Matoré, dans *Le Français Moderne*, XX, 87-92.

2. Sur le cas particulier de l'emprunt: Matoré-Greimas, *Romanische Forschungen*, LX, 419; Marouzeau, *Précis*, pp. 116-117.

au point de vue de l'auteur, de son public, de leur sentiment de la langue, et non au point de vue de la chronologie pure.³

Ce problème n'a pas retenu suffisamment l'attention. Les lexicologues déterminent en effet le néologisme à l'aide de la date la plus reculée qu'il soit possible de trouver de son emploi: la *première datation*.

Or, la première datation est un indice tout à fait insuffisant. D'abord, du point de vue chronologique, parce qu'elle est éphémère, des enquêtes nouvelles ou le hasard d'une lecture permettant de reculer souvent la date d'apparition du mot (c'est le cas des datations fondées sur les témoignages des anciens lexicographes qui généralement tardaient à enregistrer les néologismes).⁴ Ensuite, du point de vue stylistique parce que, même définitive, la première datation est fournie par un texte généralement isolé: rien n'indique que ce ne soit pas là une apparition sporadique, un emprunt occasionnel, qui ne reparaitra et ne s'acclimatera que bien plus tard (de nombreux mots sont nés dans la langue de la Renaissance, et, totalement perdus dans l'intervalle, n'ont reparu qu'au XIX^e siècle; il faut aussi considérer le cas d'ouvrages comme la *Néologie* de Mercier qui crée en 1801 à tort et à travers des mots dont certains coïncident par hasard avec des néologismes véritables, mais postérieurs).

Mais, puisque la durée de la période d'assimilation du néologisme (naissant, emprunté, renaissant) est aussi la durée de sa valeur stylistique propre, chaque fois que nous discernons dans un texte une hésitation ou des précautions dans l'emploi d'un mot, nous pourrions affirmer que son caractère néologique⁵ est encore conscient, et consciemment utilisé comme procédé de style; il révèle ainsi chez l'auteur une intention qui était perdue pour nous à qui le mot, maintenant assimilé, paraît dépourvu d'effet. Si curieux que cela puisse paraître, il n'a pas été fait d'études systématiques dans ce sens. Les stylisticiens se fondent sur les premières datations, ou bien sur le sentiment linguistique approximatif que leurs lectures leur donnent de l'époque étudiée, parfois aussi, mais tout récemment (par exemple, Matoré, *Le Vocabulaire et la société sous Louis Philippe*, 1951) sur le dépouillement de toute la production imprimée; même dans ce cas, le meilleur, le critère de détermination du néologisme reste la première datation, corrigée par la

3. De Saussure a montré que l'usager n'a pas le sentiment de l'évolution de la langue (cf. Ch. Bally, *Le Langage et la vie*, 3^e éd. [1952], pp. 65, 72-73), mais cela ne l'empêche pas de combiner à cette structure actuelle des éléments extrastructuraux qu'il reconnaît pour anciens ou nouveaux (cf. Leiv Flydal, "Remarques sur certains rapports entre le style et l'état de langue," *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, XVI, 240-257).

4. On trouvera les premières datations dans Bloch-Von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique* (1950), et surtout Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique* (1949), à compléter par les relevés publiés dans la revue *Le Français Moderne*.

5. La présence du mot dans l'usage actuel sera la preuve qu'il s'agissait bien d'une assimilation en cours. On peut objecter que l'hésitation peut avoir pour cause la vulgarité du vocable, maintenant normal: c'est revenir au cas de l'emprunt, par l'usage commun, au langage d'un milieu particulier.

fréquence d'emploi: mais celle-ci définit une mode, un engouement qui n'a pas de rapport nécessaire avec le caractère néologique.⁶

Or les hésitations dont j'ai parlé révèlent bien cette conscience linguistique d'une époque révolue, si difficile à atteindre:⁷ elles naissent en effet d'un *scrupule puriste* à l'égard du néologisme, scrupule qui se manifeste en français même au XVI^e siècle, âge d'or de la création verbale littéraire.

Il ne s'agit pas de discuter de la valeur du purisme en soi: le normatif ne relève ni de la linguistique, ni de la stylistique. L'important est que le scrupule puriste, quelle que soit la valeur normative ou esthétique qu'on lui reconnaît ou refuse, n'existe pas si le mot en question n'est pas insolite dans l'usage commun, "littéraire" ou non, bref dans le milieu où se forme l'œuvre: le scrupule peut être une erreur, un abus, mais son existence est en elle-même un témoignage objectif du sentiment linguistique que possède l'auteur, qui est celui du milieu dont il parle la langue et doit l'écrire de manière conforme à l'usage sous peine de n'être pas compris. Ainsi, cette référence à l'usage, ce scrupule fonction d'un état de langue définissent par rapport à celui-ci un néologisme *senti comme tel, cru tel* (même si chronologiquement il s'agit d'un mot ancien), un néologisme "*psychologique*," *c'est-à-dire encore utilisable et utilisé comme procédé de style*. L'erreur du témoin, qui en est une pour la chronologie, est, psychologiquement parlant, une réalité, témoignage naïf de la conscience qu'il a de sa langue—conscience imparfaite, mais qui est un facteur constitutif du style.

On a donc là un moyen sûr de reconnaître un néologisme valable stylistiquement parce que non assimilé. En effet, à la première datation squelettique est substituée une durée d'assimilation (durée connue précisément de la première datation au scrupule relevé) pendant laquelle le mot garde sa valeur expressive et que la chronologie pure ne permettait pas de reconnaître (les lexicologues ont bien cherché à déterminer le moment de l'assimilation définitive, mais ce moment, où l'expressivité cesse, est celui où le néologisme cesse d'exister pour le style). Qui plus est, le repère fourni par le scrupule, étant lié au milieu linguistique par rapport auquel l'écrivain réagissait, n'est pas susceptible de varier comme la première datation qui subit les vicissitudes de nos connaissances historiques.

On distinguera quatre critères permettant d'identifier cette non-assimilation du néologisme:

- 1°—le flottement de l'usage entre deux signifiants également nouveaux;
- 2°—l'apposition à un mot nouveau d'un synonyme déjà connu ou d'une explication;
- 3°—les hésitations exprimées par l'écrivain, les condamnations portées par le puriste;

6. Par exemple, la mode d'*illustre* au milieu du XVII^e siècle, de *formidable* en français contemporain: bien plus, la mode d'un néologisme précipite son assimilation et son usure stylistique.

7. Cf. Damourette, *Le Français Moderne*, IX, 204-205.

4^e—les scrupules implicites révélés par des artifices typographiques (italiques, guillemets).

Par flottement de l'usage, j'entends la période où la langue hésite, pour traduire un concept nouveau, entre deux morphèmes très proches, parfaitement synonymes; il est clair que tant que cette situation se prolonge, le nouveau concept n'est pas encore assimilé et que son signifiant reste susceptible d'expressivité stylistique en tant que néologisme; ce caractère disparaît avec l'éviction d'un des doublets morphologiques ou avec une différenciation sémantique qui fait cesser la synonymie révélatrice.

C'est le cas pour les mots suivants:⁸ *Exclusivité* (1818), cf. encore Laveaux (1820) qui le dit inusité, concurrencé par *exclusiveté* (éditions de Boiste de 1823 à 1841), indice confirmé par l'usage des italiques (cf. plus bas)—*harmoniser* (XV^e siècle), concurrencé du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle par *harmonier*, indication confirmée par une véritable résurgence de la valeur néologique du mot au XIX^e siècle: Boiste (1808), Littré (1866) donnent les deux et les qualifient de néologismes; Laveaux (1846) n'admet que *s'harmoniser* qui "n'est pas encore généralement usité," et pour Darmesteter (*De la création des mots*, page 217) en 1877, le mot est nouveau—*spécial* substantif au sens de *technicien* concurrence le néologisme *spécialiste* (1842) jusqu'en 1874 au moins (Gobineau, *Pléiades*, I, IV-V, éd. Mistler, pages 41, 54)⁹ et *spécialiste* a été concurrencé aux environs de 1830 par *spécialité* (Boiste, 1834).

Dans le second cas, il est évident que si le néologisme est accompagné de sa traduction par un mot existant et synonyme, ou d'une explication, c'est qu'il est peu connu et garde toute l'expressivité de l'imprévu.¹⁰ La première manière, constante au XVI^e siècle, est à l'origine l'exploitation de l'habitude médiévale "d'exprimer une idée par deux synonymes juxtaposés" (von Wartburg, *Evolution et structure de la langue française*, 3^e éd. [1946], page 143), par exemple "la *velocité* et *hastiveté*" (N. Oresme), "*geniteur* et *pere*" (Marot) et, au XVIII^e siècle, "*résille* ou *filet*" (Beaumarhais); citons les listes de von Wartburg, op. cit., et d'E. Huguet, *Mots*

8. Les exemples comportent le mot, la première datation, la référence et la date du ou des textes qui donnent le mot comme un néologisme postérieurement à la première datation. Je cite par le nom de l'auteur les ouvrages de: Andry de Boisregard, *Réflexions ou remarques critiques sur l'usage présent de la langue française* (Paris, 1692); Boiste, *Dictionnaire universel de la langue française*, éds. successives à partir de 1800; Bouhours, *Suite des remarques nouvelles*... (Paris, 1692); A. Darmesteter, *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux*... (Paris, 1877); Des Caillières, *Des mots à la mode* (Paris, 1692); Laveaux, *Dictionnaire* (1802, 1820, 1846); Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, éd. Garnier; Viennet, *Epître de Boileau sur les mots nouveaux* (1855) dans *Epîtres et Satires*, (Paris, 1860).

9. Exemples antérieurs chez Chateaubriand, Sainte-Beuve, Taine (Lefèvre-Dauzat, *Le Français Moderne*, XII, 280; L. Foulet, *ibid.*, XIII, 139-141), chez Michélet aussi, 1841 (*RHL*, LII, 349), Wey le condamne comme néologisme (*Remarques sur la langue française au XIX^e siècle*, 1865), Littré (1873) le dit néologisme et enregistre le flottement.

10. Cf. un phénomène apparenté, Marouzeau, *Précis*, p. 111.

disparus ou vieillis depuis le XVI^e siècle (1935), pages 283-285. La seconde manière est l'explication du type: "ses calanques—qui sont les anfractuosités de la côte," Léon Daudet, *Le Drame des Jardies* (1924), page 117, alors que le mot est attesté dans la langue commune depuis 1676, avec d'ailleurs le flottement *calanque/calangue* (Littré, 1863), *carangue* (Boiste, 1803). Cf. exemple de *brûle-gueule*, Weil, *Le Français Moderne* XIII, 117, et Matoré, *Voc. et soc.*, pages 95-97. Sans aller jusqu'aux vulgarismes, *plume de fer* au lieu de *plume*, perpétue volontairement chez Anatole France, *Mannequin d'osier* (1897), pages 2-3, une précision inutile dès le début du siècle (Boiste, Laveaux), un trait de plus du purisme scrupuleux de son style.

La troisième possibilité d'identification requiert une critique particulière: il faut distinguer l'apport des lexicographes, grammairiens, puristes de profession, de celui des écrivains. Les premiers en effet, auteurs des *Arts poétiques* du XVI^e et du XVII^e siècles, commentateurs comme Muret (sur Ronsard), lexicographes comme Robert Estienne, Furetière, Laveaux, Boiste, etc., puristes comme Vaugelas, Guez de Balzac, Bouhours, Ménage, Andry de Boisregard, Viennet, auteurs de recueils de *Mots à la mode* de Des Caillières à Balzac (1830), préoccupés de régenter la langue, n'ont pas, si j'ose dire, la conscience linguistique pure: ils ont tendance au nom de la tradition à refuser à l'excès des néologismes bien assimilés, ou, au contraire, à innover par esprit de système (par exemple Mercier, *Néologie*, 1801). Il est donc nécessaire de n'accepter leurs arrêts que si assez de témoignages concordants nous indiquent un courant réel, non un effort isolé (par exemple si Bouhours est confirmé par Ménage, Andry de Boisregard, Barbier d'Aucour, Des Caillières). Il faut s'assurer aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, où la conception du "Mot bas" est très rigoureuse, que le mot est bien critiqué comme un néologisme, et non simplement comme indigne des bons auteurs (bien que Vaugelas ou même Bouhours aient été généralement obéis en matière de style: voir von Wartburg, *Evol.*, pages 189 et seqq., 190, 205 et seqq.).¹¹ Il faut tenir compte aussi de l'espace de temps qui sépare la première datation de l'indice proposé: très long, il indiquera que la première datation était sporadique; autour d'une cinquantaine d'années, il fera soupçonner simplement un état d'esprit retardataire à l'excès et isolé (ex., *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*).

Les seconds sont des témoins plus naturels, donc valables.

Par exemple: *Fastidieux* (XIV^e siècle), Andry de Boisregard (1692), pages 226-227, regrette que ce néologisme sente trop le latin—*impolitesse* (1647), Des Caillières (1692), page 43, Boursault (1694), *Les mots à la*

11. Voir Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, et des enquêtes comme celles de B. H. Wind, *Les Mots italiens introduits en français au XVI^e siècle* (Deventer, 1928); Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1925); de Gohin et Frey sur le français du XVIII^e siècle, de Matoré sur celui de 1830; les études particulières d'auteurs ou d'emprunts comme St. Ullmann, "Anglicisms in French," *PMLA*, LXII, 1153-1177.

mode, page 5—*intellect* (XII^e siècle), *Quintil Horatian* (1549), I, 10; cf. Chamard, éd. Du Bellay, *Deffence*, pages 145, n. 1, 256, n. 7—*lyrisme* (1834), Viennet (1855), page 355, Littré (1867), mot à la mode chez les novateurs il reste néologisme pour une partie des usagers—*réussite* (1622), Chapelain (1639), l'employant, ajoute: "Voyez qu'il m'a échappé une phrase italienne"; Bouhours, *Suile* (1692), pages 169 et seq., le sent encore nouveau, ainsi que Des Caillières.

Les italiques servent fréquemment à mettre comme entre crochets les mots que l'on hésite parce que nouveaux à faire pénétrer dans le texte.¹² Le rôle des guillemets est le même, mais typographiquement plus rare.

Ces procédés sont employés par exemple pour: *brio* (1829), Sainte-Beuve (1850), II, 363; cf. *Larousse Universel* (1865), qui souligne encore que le mot au figuré est nouveau et expressif (Boiste ne note le sens figuré qu'à partir de 1834)—*désappointer* (1785), Jouy, *L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin* (1813), I, 15; cf. II, 12; Boiste le qualifie d'anglicisme jusqu'en 1808, et Laveaux (1846) doit encore le défendre—*désillusionner* (1828), Ponsard, lettre à la Comtesse d'Agoult (24 août 1844), *RHL*, XLIX, 348: "des hommes du monde *désillusionnés* comme on disait en 1830," cf. page 359; ni Boiste ni Laveaux ne le donnent—*exclusivité* (1818), Balzac, *Splendeur et misère des courtisanes* (1838), *O.C.*, XI, 494, qui croit le créer: "Ne faut-il pas faire un mot pour rendre une idée si peu mise en pratique?"; son caractère persistant de néologisme est confirmé par le flottement *exclusivité/exclusiveté* (Boiste, 1823), Littré ne l'admettant qu'au *Supplément* (1877)—*fantaisiste* (1845), Viennet, (1855), page 355, corroboré par Littré (1865) et Darmesteter (1877; page 211) qui y voient un néologisme—*masses* (1792), au sens de *foule*, *peuple*: Delmas, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1840), III, 44; Sainte-Beuve (1850), II, 306: "la sagesse et... la vertu infaillibles des masses" (cf. Matoré, *Voc. et soc.* page 90)—*monographie* (1807), Sainte-Beuve (1856), XII, 282, ajoutant "comme on le dit aujourd'hui" (Boiste ne le donne qu'à partir de 1823), cas typique de mot technique faisant néologisme dans la langue littéraire (Balzac écrit en 1842 une *Monographie de la presse parisienne*)—*objectivité* (1803), Viennet (1850), page 357; cf. Littré (1868)—*penseur* (XIII^e siècle; vulgarisé au XVIII^e siècle selon Dauzat), Dorat (1776), *Coll. compl. des Œuvres*, V, 4; Sainte-Beuve (1854), X, 71—*romantique*: l'étude d'Alexis François, *Mélanges Baldensperger* (1930), I, 321-331, montre que, bien que le mot ne soit usité qu'à partir de la fin du XVIII^e siècle, les italiques soulignent son caractère de néologisme d'emprunt jusqu'en 1816 (Hugo)—

12. Très fréquents, par ex., chez Balzac et Sainte-Beuve, remplacent les encombrantes précautions comme *si je puis dire*, parfois les corroborent (voir *européaniser*, Matoré-Greimas, *Le Français Moderne*, XV, 133). Le contexte permet de les distinguer de ceux qui soulignent un mot important ou cité (par ex. Sainte-Beuve, *Caus.*, II, 60, 68, 102, 281, etc.), un archaïsme, un mot familier (par ex. *quand même*: *ibid.* 81, 461) ou dont l'auteur se sert pour pasticher le langage d'un milieu social sans le prendre à son compte.

tram, abréviation de *tramway* (fin XIX^e siècle); Littré l'admet sans observations au *Supplément* (1877) avec citation du *Journal Officiel* (1877); cependant Pichon, *Le Français Moderne*, III, 331: très vulgaire en 1907, répandu dans tous les milieux après 1918; cite Anatole France, *La Vie en fleurs* (1922), Chap. XVII, "alors, la vulgarité tapageuse des *trams* n'en troublait pas la majesté," qui utilise l'extension récente du vocable (néologisme) et sa vulgarité (emprunt)—*trémolo* (1830), Balzac, *Massimilla Doni* (1840), *O.C.*, XV, 47; Littré, 1873: "on n'y met pas d'accent, parce que le mot est italien"; aujourd'hui ce dernier indice de non-assimilation a disparu et le mot est normal, bien que péjoratif—*verdict* (Révolution, mais n'apparaît chez Boiste qu'en 1834), Viennet (1855), page 357, qui le rejette au profit d'*arrêt*—*virtuose* (1667), Sainte-Beuve (1850), II, 325, au figuré (au propre sans italiques: II, 425); indice confirmé par Laveaux qui admet le sens figuré (1802), mais l'écarte du "style noble" (1846): le mot est donc bien un néologisme pour la langue littéraire.

Ces exemples montrent qu'on peut déterminer une *durée de valeur stylistique du néologisme assez longue, jusqu'à une date souvent très postérieure à sa date d'apparition*, d'où des corrections importantes à ce que nous savons des intentions stylistiques d'un auteur; le "scrupule puriste" révèle sans doute possible un procédé voulu, une audace calculée dans le choix de mots, que leur première datation eût fait croire assimilés, donc sans expressivité néologique (ceci vaut pour le cas où l'auteur pastiche la langue d'un autre milieu que le sien: c'est une indication sur l'extension du mot dans l'usage; le témoin se tromperait-il dans son pastiche que l'indication prouverait encore la volonté d'user d'un procédé stylistique, et témoignerait d'une certaine mentalité sociale et linguistique); la fréquence de ces hésitations "date" le style d'un auteur: nombreuses, surtout en comparaison d'autres écrivains, ou très postérieures à la première datation, elles indiquent un purisme conservateur ou l'influence d'une formation classique; rares ou très rapprochées de la première datation, elles révèlent une réceptivité contrôlée aux apports nouveaux de la langue. Outre cette connaissance stylistique, nous pouvons en retirer des indications sur le sentiment linguistique du milieu de l'auteur et du public pour lequel il écrit, puisqu'il se façonne sur les habitudes de ce milieu et que c'est par rapport à elles, aux goûts de ce public qu'il réagit par ces audaces.¹³ Bien plus, le témoignage d'une valeur néologique, donc stylistique, persistante vaut pour les auteurs contemporains du témoin: Viennet, par exemple, est un attardé, mais qui reflète les sentiments d'un public, et si Hugo emploie normalement un

13. La considération du milieu est essentielle: il faut déterminer l'extension du fait de conscience linguistique, puisque là où il ne s'étend pas, le style ne peut l'utiliser. Remarquons qu'un auteur médiocre, ou un technicien qui écrit pour autre chose que pour l'art, reflètera mieux les scrupules de son milieu qu'un écrivain dont les répugnances lexicales peuvent être plus individuelles. Voir par ex., les publics littéraires de la Restauration (P. Martino, *L'Epoque romantique en France* [1944], pp. 7-18); Viennet que j'ai cité, témoin du second public, celui de Stendhal et de Balzac.

mot qu'il condamne, nous avons un témoignage précis sur une divergence entre les conceptions de la langue et du style dans deux milieux, et sur l'attitude d'avant-garde du romantique. De telles comparaisons seront d'autant plus fructueuses qu'elles reposeront sur plus de témoignages, sans considération de valeur littéraire, puisqu'il s'agit non d'un jugement esthétique, mais d'une concession à des scrupules propres non à un auteur, mais à son âge, à sa condition, à son école (d'ailleurs des contemporains insignifiants ont eu souvent une grosse influence sur les grands écrivains).

Ainsi, par cette détermination de faits qui ne sont plus sensibles à notre présent sentiment de la langue, nous pouvons réintroduire dans l'étude du style un élément essentiel à sa compréhension, puisque le vocabulaire d'un auteur ne peut être étudié qu'en fonction de celui de son époque: la valeur expressive d'un mot *neuf*, non pour nous, mais du *point de vue des contemporains*, de ceux pour qui l'auteur écrivait.

Columbia University

REVIEWS

Gace Brulé, trouvère champenois: Edition critique des chansons et étude historique. Par Holger Petersen Dyggve. (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, XVI) Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1951. Pp. 495.

The present edition of Gace Brulé's poetry was designed to replace the edition, now out of print, by Gédéon Huet, printed in 1902 by the Société des Anciens Textes Français. Huet restricted excessively the number of poems which can be attributed to Gace and he achieved only partial success in identifying the personages mentioned in the songs; these defects are remedied by Mr. Dyggve who presents, moreover, an edition based on more MSS¹ (24 compared to Huet's 19) with more songs of Gace (69 plus 15 as compared to Huet's 33 plus 24) and more success in identifying the personages.

In the Introduction are found studies on Gace's name and origin, on his protectors and friends, together with a discussion of the time of his poetic activity, an examination of the question whether Gace participated in the Crusades, a review of his poetic reputation, of his work, of the characteristics of his songs, his language, and, finally, the poet's versification.

Following the text is an alphabetical table of the metrical schemes used by Gace, a chronological table of the songs which can be more or less dated with precision, a table of proper names, a glossary, an alphabetical table of the first words of each song, a concordance with the bibliography of Raynaud, and one with Huet's edition. A list of works cited and a facsimile of a page from MS *a* complete the edition.

Under each song's title are listed the MSS containing it, former editions, the versification scheme, forms of the author's name, the addressee, a designation of the base MS used, and, after the text, variants of the other MSS, followed by, usually, notes on obscure or difficult passages. The whole is printed on very good paper, with many cross references of material, and marred by but few printing errors² or inconsistencies.³ Thus, the editor

1. Huet's list does not include MSS *DFGZza*. Dyggve mentions *D* only on pp. 153, 154, for it contains only one poem and its attribution (by *C*) is rejected by the editor. The latter did not have direct access to MSS *a*, *b* (see pp. 226, 358, 401, 414) nor to *P* (at least for Song II, p. 193).

2. P. 12, n. 2 for *dans nu* read *dans un*; p. 87 for *c'est donné* read *s'est donné*; p. 89 for *Helisent*, R. 233, XXXIX read *Helisent*, R. 1536, XXXI; p. 93 for *Rewiew* read *Review*; p. 341 in the margin 9 should read 8; p. 346 for 1-2. read 1-3. and for *senteit* read *santeit*; p. 426 for V-3-35 (Remarques) read V-34-35; p. 446 for *an v. 24* read *au v. 24*; p. 476 for *marcheandie* read *mercheandie*.

3. On p. 21 is written *crier* but p. 397 *crier*; on pp. 25 and 90 we find *Huet*, p. 276 *Huet*, p. 460 *Huet*; p. 38 there is a comma after *voir* (R. 1757) but no punctuation after the verse p. 253; p. 41 is a comma after *amer* (R. 801) but p. 292 a colon; p. 63 is *compains* but p. 370 *compainz*; p. 117 *malaise* (no. XXVII) but p. 281 *mal aise*; p. 119 *Desconfortez*, *plains d'ire* (XXXIX) but p. 120 *Desconfortez plains d'ire*; p. 173 "Gace

provides us with all the things we have come to expect in a critical edition except a description of the MSS, their respective dates,⁴ and a statement of editorial principles.

Contrary to Huet, who bases his texts on the fourteenth-century MS *N* when possible,⁵ makes uniform the divergent spellings, and gives only some variants, Dyggve chooses what he considers the best MS (apparently the earliest in date and the one with the least number of errors or undesirable readings) and edits it with all variants, it seems, and the rejected readings, at the bottom of each page, which permit one to perceive his zones of demarcation between good and undesirable readings. For eleven songs there was no choice since they exist in only one MS.⁶ On MS *M* are based 29 others, on MS *O* an additional 12 (lacking or defective in *M*); *M* was used in combination with another MS in seven cases.⁷ Eight are based on *U*, and two on *U* plus other MSS.⁸ *K* was used for *2, *5, *6, *7, *9, *KC* for *4. So, all of these songs are based on thirteenth-century MSS⁹ and one can hardly quarrel with the choice of the base MS; for the remaining nine cases, however, some comment is indicated.

The editor gives two versions of No. LIX, thirteenth-century *O* and fourteenth-century *N*, an excellent idea in view of their divergences. No. XLV (in MSS *HM* only) is rightly based on *H*, for *M* is too mutilated. No. XLIX is based on the fourteenth-century *R* rather than on thirteenth-century *O*, for that involves much less correction. Nos. L, LIV are copied from the fourteenth-century *P*, whereas I find *O* superior in each case.¹⁰ For No. LXIII, found in *KOSX*, the choice lay between *K* and *O* and he chooses *K* whereas the present reviewer prefers *O*.¹¹ No. LXVII is found in *C/b* and it is based on *b* which was not directly accessible to the editor; *C* involves but few corrections and it would have been preferable. For

se nomme dix fois" but in the Table of Proper Names are listed eleven cases; p. 174 *qu'il est* (R. 1001) but p. 431 *q'il est*; p. 458 out of alphabetical order is *Baiviere*, p. 463 *ataigne*, p. 475 *losengeo(u)r*, p. 480 *pouvoir*.

4. For these things we must have recourse to the edition of Huet, to Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français*, or to Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*.

5. Songs lacking in *N* "ont été ramenées à la graphie de ce manuscrit, au moins dans les grandes lignes" (p. c).

6. Nos. XLIV, XLVII, XLVIII, LVII, LX, LXI, LXII, LXIV, *12, *14, *15.

7. *M* + *U* - I, *M* + *T* - II, *M* + *O* - IX, XXXIII, XXXVI, LI, *M* + *K* - XXI.

8. *TCU* - XXIII, *KTU* - XXXIX.

9. Note, however, that *C* is dated thirteenth or fourteenth century by Huet (p. xxxviii).

10. MS *O* was apparently rejected as the base for LIV because of 4 verses lacking, yet *P* required 11 corrections whereas *O* (except for the missing 4 verses) would require only 6 (vv. 2, 5, 7, 14 [*Jelons et trailours*], 24, 34). For L the choice lay among *LOP* but preference should have been given to the earlier *O*, rather than *P*, especially since the latter requires 9 corrections and the former but 8 (vv. 4, 18, 21, 28, 30, 32, 40, 43).

11. *K* needs 2 corrections (vv. 2, 12), *O* needs 4 (vv. 2, 6, 10, 17) but *O* is, in general, a MS with a higher degree of fidelity than *K*.

LXVIII *C* is rightly chosen in preference to *U* for the latter lacks two strophes and the former may belong to the thirteenth century as *U* does. MS *T* is preferred to *M* as the basis for No. *1 though *M* (which lacks portions of 5 verses) has only three additional errors and *T* is corrected 18 times by the editor.¹²

The choice of the basic MS, then, at times reflects an unjustified and unjustifiable personal choice. The same is true of corrections made to MS readings.¹³ Notes on the songs invite an occasional objection or correction¹⁴ without, however, impairing their general excellence and usefulness.

Among the new things concerning Gace which are presented for the first time is a convincing explanation of the name Brulé as a variant form of *burelé*,¹⁵ the term used to designate horizontal stripes on an escutcheon. Gace's native heath is established as a restricted area in Champagne bounded by Coulommiers, Rozoy, Mormant, Nangis, Bray-sur-Seine, Provins, and Villiers-St-Georges (see map, page 14). Dates for the author and some of his works are arrived at by identifications of the personages and *senhals* in the poems. This was no easy task but Mr. Dyggve, with logical and scholarly steps, builds up a convincing hypothesis for Gace's birth as being ca. 1159, his literary activity extending from ca. 1179 to at least 1212.

As a point of departure for fixing the date of Gace's poetic activity, the editor accepts Mme Lejeune's dating of Jehan Renart's *Guillaume de Dole* (1212-13), in which are inserted three quotations from Gace's work. Then, Dyggve reasons that Jehan Renart must have been quoting the most popular poems of the time, "et sans doute, de date assez récente." So, the originals of the three songs in question, Dyggve thinks, were composed about 1200 or perhaps a little earlier. This seems to be pushing back quite far a "recent date."¹⁶ Moreover, I find new reasons (to be published elsewhere) for dating *Guillaume de Dole* ca. 1220-21, which, if true, would separate Renart's work more than a generation from Gace's poems quoted therein; and this date for *Guillaume de Dole* would cause some minor

12. Errors in *M* are in vv. 10, 25, 35. MS *T* needs no correction in vv. 10, 14, 18, 24, 31, 36, 39.

13. To choose but two examples, in addition to those noted above, in Song I five of the 20 changed readings might stand as they were (vv. 11, 13, 14, 21, 22), in Song II four of the ten changed might stay (vv. 1, 16, 37, 49).

14. Song III, 33-34 instead of *qui causera ma mort* read *dont je meurs tristement*; IX, 19 interpret as "je prie que la volonté (de ma dame de m'aimer) ne me manque"; XX, 21 "antre douleur" = *douleur de la mort* (?); XLII, 25 translate as "car elle (étant une haute dame) ne pourrait (penser à) avoir que loyal ami (à cause des conventions de la société)"; LXIII, 26 *ou guerroier* (not in the glossary) makes no sense but the variant reading (*de guerroier*) does. For further criticism of the texts, see the sound remarks by Albert Henry, *Romania*, LXXII (1951), 539-540.

15. Dyggve might have added, in support of his argument, the fact that MS B.N. 17270 bears the form of Gace's name as *Gatebruelé* (noted by Huet, p. ii).

16. He is influenced, perhaps, by Huet (following Servois) who dated *GD* as ca. 1201 and who would place Gace's poetic career mainly before 1200.

changes in dates ascribed to some individual poems (without, however, impairing seriously Dyggve's main hypotheses for Gace's literary career), such as a reconsideration of the Countess of Brie (in LXV) being identified with the wife of Thibaut IV who married in 1220; and the putative reference, in the same poem, to a crusade might well be, if to any specific one, to that of 1219-21; the count of Brittany referred to in XI could be Pierre de Braine (cf. page 29) 1213-37, Count Geoffrey of XVI and LIV would not be a count of Brittany as suggested (page 30), and the *sire* of LIII would not admit of even the hesitant hypothesis emitted (page 33); the argument (page 36) for dating VI before 1187 (birth of Arthur of Brittany) could apply to the period after his death (1203); the count of Blois (pages 41-42) might be Thibaut VI and the count of Bar Henri II.¹⁷

HARRY F. WILLIAMS

University of California at Los Angeles

Les Belles Amies de Montaigne. Par Alexandre Nicolai. Paris: Dumas, 1950. Pp. 388.

Before his death last year, the learned Guyenne lawyer and collector Alexandre Nicolai had compiled, from legal documents and other sources, a large store of new facts about Montaigne. Many of these he had published in various communications to the *Bulletin des Amis de Montaigne*—notably "Les Grandes Dates de la vie de Montaigne" (October 1948-January 1949, pages 24-66)—and in two books, *Montaigne intime* (Aubier, 1947) and the one now under review. Two more are promised, thanks to his devoted literary executor M. Maurice Rat: *Les Grands Amis de Michel de Montaigne* and *Michel de Montaigne dans la politique*. His books are not distinguished by scholarly care and caution; but the scholar who reads them with care and caution is likely to be rewarded. The present volume well illustrates their strengths and weaknesses.

In the first place, it is really two books, unequal in value and inadequately connected, which he calls Parts One and Two: "Les Belles Amies de Montaigne" and "Le Charme de Montaigne." The second part offers little more than literary popularization that is generally sound but rather barren of new facts or insights. The entire book is poorly composed. For most of his quotations the author gives book, chapter, and page references to the *Essais*; but not until the second part (page 224) does he tell us what edition he is quoting. He quotes at full length twice, in his portraits of Diane ("Corisande") d'Andoins and of Marie de Gournay (pages 42-43 and 178-179), the letters on Montaigne's arrival in Paris in 1588 from the Spanish envoy to Philip II, first published by M. Raymond Ritter. And

17. Seeking to identify the Renaut of LI, the editor suggests only Renaut de Beaujeu. Equally cogent would be the name Renaut, the author of *Galeran de Bretagne* (dated by Foulet ca. 1195-1225).

these are not the only unnecessary repetitions that make the work seem sometimes more a collection of articles than a book.

His popular presentation is often tantalizing. For example, he is the first, to my knowledge, to establish the early date at which Montaigne was made gentleman in ordinary to the King's chamber. This date he gives (page 115) as 1571. But he offers no supporting evidence, and even in his article "Les Grandes Dates . . ." the earliest reference to Montaigne with this title is October, 1573. There are too many careless errors, even of substance: as when it is stated (page 42) that we lose all track of Montaigne's relations with Corisande between 1580 and 1588; whereas Montaigne's important letter, telling Matignon that he has written Corisande and urged her strongly to govern her royal lover Navarre wisely, dates from January 18, 1585.¹

These are the main weaknesses, and they are considerable. But the merits of the book are also great. Nicolai knew well, among other things, Montaigne, Guyenne, local history, and law. If he seems at times too free in speculation, he has the virtue of being willing to speculate when there are questions to answer and facts pointing mainly in one direction. These calculated risks have enabled him to give a more living portrait of Montaigne among his friends than any other that is so solidly based. Though the ladies are the stars, the men are not neglected, nor the settings. An example is the portrait of Diane de Foix de Candale, Comtesse de Gursion, to whom Montaigne dedicated his essay on education. It shows her place in the dazzling Foix family, a bit of her childhood, and Montaigne's part, as representative of the old Marquis de Trans, the groom's father, in arranging her marriage with her cousin Louis de Gursion. We read of the benign trick that Montaigne played on the groom—an old schoolmate—with the talisman on the wedding night (told in *Essais*, I, xxi), and his visit as Mayor of Bordeaux for the baptism of their third child. Soon after, however, Diane died at twenty-five, and a month later her widower and his two brothers, on the same day, fighting for Navarre at Monterabeau; Montaigne noted the fact sadly in his *Ephemeris* and later showed his dismay (I, xiv) at the father's excessively stoical—almost blithe—acceptance of this blow. Besides these events, there is a picture of the Château

1. Other slips noted at random: p. 23 l. 6, wrong line; p. 41 n. 14, wrong reference (III, x instead of I, xxxi); p. 143, implausible timing by which Henry III's letter to Montaigne dated November 25, 1581, is said to have gone to Rome and then returned to Montaigne, all within ten days; p. 172 n. 2, wrong reference (LX instead of XL); p. 177 n. 5, a passage of doubtful authenticity about Marie de Gournay presented as if clearly genuine and as appearing in 1588, whereas it first appears in her edition of 1595; p. 177 n. 6, what seem surely to be two separate holdups of Montaigne described as two accounts of the same one; p. 225 l. 25, "chez" instead of "dez"; p. 240 ll. 5-8, an arranged quotation given as though a direct one and with the wrong page reference (91 instead of 96-97); p. 357 l. 17, impossible dating by which Montaigne leaves for Paris (1588) less than a year after saying good-by to the Maestro del Sacro Palazzo in Rome (1581)—a slip resulting apparently from cutting out a passage and not correcting the transition. This list of mistakes makes no claim to be complete.

de Puy-Paulin, town house of the Foix-Candale family in Bordeaux, and of many of the people who frequented it as Montaigne must certainly have done.

The same sort of living portrait emerges of the other three noblewomen to whom Montaigne dedicated essays: Diane d'Andoins, already so well portrayed by M. Ritter; Madame d'Estissac, formerly the notorious *belle Rouet*, then (as Montaigne was writing to her) a young widow and model mother, shortly after to remarry and send her son with Montaigne on his trip to Rome; and the tempestuous Madame de Duras, "l'âme damnée" of Marguerite de Valois. Then there is Marguerite herself, whose stormy life is well known, but whose relationship with Montaigne, who wrote—or arranged—his "Apologie de Raimond Sebond" for her, has never been so well and fully shown. Finally, of course, there is a full study of Marie de Gournay and the probably mixed feelings of Montaigne toward his most adoring and possessive admirer.

There are not many brand new facts in all this; but the known facts are nearly always all assembled, placed in their setting, and transformed by imaginative thought, so that Montaigne's friends come convincingly alive in their relation to him. The reader is thus led into a part of Montaigne's life that deserves to be better known and that has rarely if ever been more vividly portrayed. Despite the faults noted earlier, this book is well worth reading.

DONALD M. FRAME

Columbia University

Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Seizième Siècle. Publié sous la direction de Monseigneur Georges Grente. Associate editors: Albert Pauphilet, Mgr. Louis Pichard, Robert Barroux. Paris: Fayard, 1951. Pp. xxvi + 718.

This is a splendid book, valuable to all and indispensable to the specialist. A handsome folio volume designed to be used and to endure, it is a pleasure as well as a profit to consult.

As the editor in chief explains in his interesting, though sometimes unctuous, general preface, the series was in preparation for fifteen years before this first volume appeared. Five others are promised, on the Middle Ages and on the four centuries from the seventeenth on. If they are as good as this one, we shall indeed be fortunate.

It is an impressive team of ninety-three scholars, many of whom have since died, that composed the 2000-odd articles. Only a few big names, such as Lefranc and Strowski, are missing. Among those present are MM. Robert Barroux (who has treated countless minor figures), Charles Beaulieu (dictionary, etc.), Jean Bonnerot, Jacques Boulenger (Amadis de Gaule), Charles Bruneau (French language, grammar), Henri Chamard (most poetry), Pierre Champion (Introduction, Brantôme), Joseph Coppin

(Montaigne), Paul Courteault (Monluc), Mathurin Dréano (Charron, Rapin), Cardinal Grente (General Preface, Du Perron), Pierre Jourda (Henri IV, Marguerite de Navarre, Marot), Paul Laumonier (Ronsard), Raymond Lebègue (theater), Albert Pauphilet (Middle Ages and Sixteenth Century), Jean Plattard (Aubigné), Albert Renaudet (Calvin, Erasmus, Lefèvre d'Étaples), Verdun L. Saulnier (Italy, Lyons poets), and many others who deserve individual mention.

The parts are not equally divided. M. Barroux, Archiviste de la Seine, who was one of the moving spirits in creating the series, has written about half the articles, mostly short notices on minor figures, but also excellent fuller treatments of Bèze, Budé, history, reading public, books, manuscripts, Pasquier, Ramus, and others. Being generally short, these fill about one half of this volume. Another quarter or thereabouts is the work of the late Professor Chamard, who has done substantial studies of most of the poets, poetic genres and themes (Anacreontism, anthology, ballade, eclogue, elegy, epigram, epistle, hymn, ode, sonnet, versification, etc.) and also of such varied subjects as Collège de France, Dolet, Platonism, and voyages. Professors Saulnier and Lebègue, in that order, seem to be next in the volume and importance of their contribution. The book, however, is not dominated but rather guaranteed by having leading contributors of such outstanding authority.

The test of such a work is in years of use; but this reviewer, having perused it and tried it out on various subjects, has found remarkably few mistakes and no important omissions or injustices. There are just a few inequalities that suggest a little religious bias: the Protestant La Noue (and the lesser Olivetan) are each dismissed dryly in about a seventh of a page, the atheist Des Périers hostilely in a little more than a half page (all by Barroux), whereas Cardinal Grente devotes five pages to Cardinal Du Perron. Most of Chamard's articles are a little disproportionately long. American scholarship is not always given its due, especially by the older scholars, in the otherwise excellent bibliographies. Each reader will probably miss some themes of special interest that he would have liked to see treated. But these are literally the only flaws noted in a volume whose scope and nature invite the critic to sharpen his pen and his claws.

The merits of the book are tremendous. In its way, it is a library in itself. Surely most of us have felt countless times the need of a fact or date about a minor author and have wasted much time and good temper seeking it perhaps in a Bédier and Hazard, a Braunschvig, or a Darmesteter and Hatzfeld in our office, then perhaps at the library in a monograph too specialized or too vague for our purpose, a *La Croix du Maine*, and a *Nicéron*, often to wind up as ignorant as we started and much more irritable. This book is full of such facts and dates, now made easily and pleasantly accessible; and those it lacks are suggested by the bibliographical indications after each article, which are the best now available. The cross

references to this and other volumes are excellent, and an index of the themes treated saves the reader vain searching for pertinent articles. The student in quest of a research project will find here one of his best starting points. In short, this is a real treasury of handy information.

Finally, the articles are extremely well done. Ranging from a few lines to eight or ten pages—or more if one includes the appended articles on important works—they are nearly always in good proportion to each other, careful to give the indispensable facts, succinct, readable, and, wherever space permits, substantial. Even to mention all the items, noted in a hasty reading, that seemed especially needed and well done, would produce a list in three figures that would be far beyond the compass of this review. Enough to say again that this is a superb and necessary volume.

DONALD M. FRAME

Columbia University

Jean-Jacques (1758-1778): Grandeur et misère d'un esprit. Par Jean Guéhenno. Paris: Gallimard, 1952. Pp. 347.

M. Guéhenno has spent ten long and at times almost despairing years trying to penetrate the mystery of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He seems to have come nearer to the heart of it than any previous critic. If he began by attempting to discover whether Rousseau always submitted his life to truth according to his motto, was entirely sincere, and never lied, it became soon apparent that this approach would not work, because he met at every turn the graver problems of the very nature of truth and sincerity and of the possibility of self-knowledge. We finally become convinced that M. Guéhenno, seeking to understand rather than to judge, came to know Jean-Jacques better than did Rousseau, and by his own admission better than he can ever hope to know Jean Guéhenno; whereas Rousseau, overanxious to judge and justify Jean-Jacques, concentrated so narrowly on his inner self that he inevitably lost his reference points, until delusions became hallucinations. Knowing oneself can be as presumptuous an undertaking as scanning God.

This third volume¹ presents an admirable synthesis of the man and his work, his genius and his folly, the essential greatness that sprang from his physical and mental wretchedness. The major works are shown to be compensations for the burning humiliations of his early years, his congenital malady, his failure as artisan, citizen, lover, and parent. The works in turn created the new man, the hero of the first six books of the *Confessions*; not the Rousseau that was or ought to have been, but Jean-Jacques as seen by Rousseau, as what he managed to believe himself truly to have been. They represent a dated act of his life, the necessary and authentic conclusion to his other works, dictated by the same "senti-

1. The two earlier volumes of Jean-Jacques were published by Grasset in 1948 and 1950, with the subtitles: *En marge des "Confessions"* and *Roman et vérité*.

ment intérieur." The style was the man, to the point where, as Thibaudet says of Chateaubriand, the man became his style. Following Louis Ducros, M. Guéhenno quotes La Rochefoucauld: "La sincérité est un désir de se dédommager de ses défauts et de les diminuer même, par le mérite de les avouer."

The highly idealized concept that Rousseau had of himself, the feeling of almost messianic uniqueness, could finally not be maintained in a world of men without recourse to madness. In order to be right, he had to believe the rest of the world wrong, and that is the essence of madness. The fixed and evil look that he discerned in Hume's eye will, the following year, be seen again by him in the eyes of the servants at Trye, then in those of his hosts at Grenoble, and not many years later in the eyes of the populace of the streets of Paris. He was being accused, he knew not what of nor by whom. M. Guéhenno quite rightly entitles his chapter dealing with the years 1770-1774 after Kafka, "Le Procès." He shows how the concept of a colossal plot developed in Rousseau's mind. It had no other existence. The villains were Vernes, D'Alembert, or Choiseul, before becoming Grimm, Diderot, Mme d'Epinay, and the Maréchale de Luxembourg. There is no need of a plot to explain Rousseau's very real miseries: the decree of the Parlement de Paris in 1762 and the burning of his books in France, Holland and Switzerland are explanation enough for his life in exile and the silence enforced upon him.

The burning remorse in his heart over the abandonment of his children is given as the factor contributing most directly to his madness. Contrary to usual opinion, M. Guéhenno believes that Rousseau kept this secret from the general public until the very end. Voltaire's revelation of it in the *Sentiment des citoyens*² was the fatal blow for Rousseau—who promptly denied that he had exposed his children (he had only deposed them)—but had little influence on public opinion. M. Guéhenno sees significance in the fact that the *Confessions* were never finished, never could be finished,³ and does not slight the *Dialogues, Rousseau juge de Jean-Jacques*, where madness borders on reason and consorts with genius. His epigraph is a quotation from Nietzsche's *Aurore*, which reads in part: "Hélas! accordez-moi donc la folie, puissances divines! La folie pour que je finisse enfin par croire en moi-même."

It has been impossible, in this review, to do justice to the nuances of M. Guéhenno's study or to the genuineness, almost the torment of his desire to understand. It is, more than all else, a labor of love, sympathy, and profound penetration. Few people have been as well equipped as he

2. Voltaire was the amanuensis, the opinions were those of the "citizens" or patricians, to whom Rousseau's works appeared definitely seditious. Dr. Tronchin furnished the medical information. Mme d'Epinay's rôle remains unproved, unlikely, and unnecessary. Voltaire remains the scapegoat.

3. Important revisions and suppressions make the need of a critical edition of this work even more apparent.

to sense the tremendous influence of early humiliations on Rousseau's life and the development of his thought.

NORMAN L. TORREY

Columbia University

Stendhal et Helvétius: Les Sources de la philosophie de Stendhal. Par Jules C. Alciatore. Genève: Droz; Lille: Giard, 1952. Pp. vi + 300.

It was perhaps inevitable that one day there should be a doctoral dissertation on Stendhal and Helvétius. Repeated references to the Sage de Voré in the posthumously published *Journal* and the *Correspondance* of young Henri Beyle would alone suggest that here indeed was a tempting subject for the investigation of ideological, if not literary influences on one of the great writers of the French nineteenth century.

In 1938, M. Alciatore defended a thesis on the subject, and it has served as basis for the present book. The essential aim of *Stendhal et Helvétius* is to determine the influence of Helvétius' philosophy on Stendhal and, as the author says, to prove that this influence is far greater than has hitherto been believed.

The plan here utilized in order to avoid "des redites fastidieuses" and "ennuyeuses"—an intention which readers will find insufficiently realized—divides the study into two parts. In the first, the critic's presentation is chronological as he traces Beyle's contacts with and reactions to Helvétius' writings from as early as 1802 to the year 1814. Ample evidence marshalled with commendable conscientiousness is offered to show that time and again during this period Beyle, his head swimming with dreams of literary glory, turned to the author of *De l'esprit* and *De l'homme* for guidance, understanding and inspiration. This period M. Alciatore designates as that of "La Formation des Idées."

So overwhelming is the evidence presented that we are at first almost forced to agree that by reading and meditating on Helvétius' theories, Beyle inevitably evolved into the writer that was Stendhal. Nevertheless, in the first part, various considerations are not given their just due. Beyle's absorption with other works of the past, if we except passing reference to the *Idéologues*, is generally disregarded. In consequence, the reader has scant opportunity for comparing the extent of Beyle's interest in Helvétius with interests we know to have existed regarding the eighteenth-century writer's more eminent contemporaries. Furthermore, there is little insistence on what would seem to be an important point: the fundamental differences of temperament between Helvétius and his presumed disciple. Nor, from the account M. Alciatore gives us, is it easy to visualize in these pages the future author of *Le Rouge et le Noir*. He was, of course, a young man with strong literary aspirations who had not yet discovered the nature of what he had to say. He spent laborious years seeking a personal expression for his writing and repeatedly resorted to plagiarism while struggling

for self-realization. A more balanced though seriously modified development of M. Alciatore's position concerning these formative years might be that the works of the uninspired technician of the soul, Helvétius, were certainly important among those that provided discipline for a latent genius which might otherwise have flowed in all directions.

It is difficult to be fair to the second part of this book. Beginning with 1814, the year that the *Vies de Haydn, de Mozart et de Mélastase* first appeared, and carrying his analysis through to include 1830 when *Le Rouge et le Noir* was published, M. Alciatore now wishes to prove, in what he calls "Application de la doctrine," the seeming omnipresence of Helvétius' influence on Stendhal, the writer. Abandoning the chronological approach, in successive chapters he strives to show the author of the *Rouge* everywhere utilizing such themes stemming from Helvétius as the principle of utility, anti-clericalism, the passions, as well as laws, morals, education, boredom and, finally, the philosophy of sensationalism.

Critical practice, in general, is often beset by the compulsion to demonstrate at all costs the validity of a chosen position; in the present instance, the writer's excessive zeal in "proving" influences is abundant. We are urged to believe, for example, that from Helvétius Stendhal learned that suffering molds the character, boredom is susceptible to distractions and misfortune is a blessing in disguise. So prone is M. Alciatore to overstate his case that when he finds that Stendhal himself admits one of his sources to be Voltaire, we are then told that Voltaire, in turn, may well have been inspired by Helvétius (page 261). Many other confirmations of influence are equally indecisive, all of which explains the liberal sprinkling of such words and expressions through the last 150 pages of the book as "probablement," "peut-être," "sans doute," and "il semble."

Whenever possible, the author draws upon the *Rouge* to demonstrate the point he wishes to stress. The reason given is that "c'est dans ce roman que Stendhal met en œuvre avec le plus de maîtrise, les emprunts qu'il a faits à Helvétius" (page vi). Yet upon examining M. Alciatore's efforts in this direction, one's first reaction is that the number of formulae allegedly reflected in the *Rouge* is not overly impressive, especially when we consider the size and complexity of the novel. Furthermore, how many of these illustrations of formulae derived from Helvétius are in themselves convincing?

Let us take the example of what Helvétius was pleased to call the principle of analogy or conformity: like dispositions attract mutually. The present study holds this principle to be one of the bases of Stendhal's system. We are asked to believe that Mme de Rênal loves Julien because they are both *sensibles* and intelligent; Mathilde loves him because they are both ambitious and energetic. It should have been more clearly recognized, I think, that Stendhal does not stop here. Each of the two women, conditioned by force of circumstance, finds herself drawn by the dynamic

young man who is a personality apart. In no way resembling his father or his brothers, quite unlike his fellow-seminarists, far different from the host of mediocrities who swarm through the provincial and Parisian drawing rooms, and only by a wide stretch of the imagination "analogous" to Mme de Rênal, Julien comes close to inviting suspicion and even hatred from all sides. He is first and foremost a personality new and fascinating to the two women in question as he breaks into the prosaic routine of their lives. But there are other characters, simple and unpretentious, who are bewitched by his looks or bearing, by his eloquence or prodigious memory. One could readily cite as illustration the maid in the Rênal household, bent on marrying Julien but having nothing in common with him except youth and a relative equality of social position. And what of Fouqué, a faithful friend to the end, who so little resembles the object of his loyalty and devotion? No, the attractions and repulsions for which Julien is responsible go far beyond the bounds of any trite formula of analogy proposed in Helvétius' *De l'esprit*.

Further detailed objections could also be made to M. Alciatore's demonstrations of other concepts inspired by Helvétius which Stendhal incorporates into the *Rouge*. Among these are specific notions of duty, genius, the sublime, and *l'esprit de conduite*. Once again the impression persists that the critic has overreached himself in his analysis of both the *Rouge* and its author's genius. The naturalness of expression in the novel, the psychological realism of the characters, Stendhal's own profound insights into human nature would all indicate that the mature writer has long since forgotten any rules or formulae young Beyle may once have gleaned from either *De l'esprit* or *De l'homme*.

Once the methods employed in this study are accepted, they could apply equally well to showing Helvétius' heavy hand in the *Chartreuse de Parme* and other of Stendhal's works composed after 1830. M. Alciatore does not care to carry his demonstration that far, which is perhaps just as well because we are informed that it would be nothing but the story of the *Rouge* all over again. As matters stand, what in some ways is a challenging and provocative book falls far short of being a satisfactory study of the relationship between Stendhal and Helvétius. Certainly much that M. Alciatore claims concerning Stendhal's dependence on a secondary figure of the French eighteenth century lies outside the novelist's greatest achievements in the *Rouge*. Moreover, the supposition-turned-certainty that Helvétius was in so large measure responsible for the patterns of Stendhal's fictional genius, grows tedious with its insistence on a few basic principles whose validity is not uniformly convincing.

While the book itself is a testimony to much sober diligence, it would have been greatly improved by a serious revision of the subject as a whole. In addition to much pruning, this would have included a general reorganization of the subject matter. Not only do statements and developments already

appearing in Part I reappear in Part II, but they continue to be repeated throughout the second half. Thus the author's explanation that the chronological plan has been dropped midway in his study the better to avoid wearisome repetitions is not convincing. Indeed one feels hard put to imagine any other plan so conducive to needless repetition of points made as the one here used. Perhaps most important of all would have been an obstinate questioning of many of the so-called proofs advanced to support M. Alciatore's thesis. The entire study would thereby have achieved a tone less positive, an enthusiasm less misleading, and a fixity of purpose less rigid.

OTIS FELLOWS

Columbia University

La Poétique de Valéry. Par Jean Hytier. Paris: Armand Colin, 1953. Pp. 312.

At the end of his first chapter Professor Hytier expresses the hope that this study, "d'un 'lecteur actif' mais non 'de mauvaise volonté,'" such as Valéry would have wished, may help to make Valéry's conception of his own art more clear to us, and perhaps illuminate indirectly our admiration for his poems. This hope is more than fulfilled. Valéry, who has perhaps suffered as much from the indiscriminate enthusiasm of some of his critics as from the uncomprehending animosity of others, has found an ideal exegete. Professor Hytier says: "Il s'agit de savoir ce que le poète Valéry, réfléchissant sur la poésie, croyait penser de celle-ci; il s'agit de le suivre sympathiquement pour le mieux comprendre, et de ne cesser de le suivre que là où c'est lui-même qui cesse de se suivre ou bien ne réussit pas à nous entraîner" (page 20). The sentence suggests certain great merits of the book. It is marked throughout by an admirable objectivity, accompanied by understanding and insight. Valéry is allowed to speak for himself in a wealth of quotations. Some familiar ones, the stock in trade of all too many critics, are illuminated by being replaced in their context, and Professor Hytier has added many others from Valéry's less known writings. He himself has kept close to Valéry's own critical vocabulary, following Sainte-Beuve's advice to the critic, "de tremper sa plume dans l'encier de son modèle." Not that Valéry's vocabulary is used uncritically; Professor Hytier elucidates the meaning of terms, follows their variations, points out contradictions in their use. But he is using Valéry's own weapons, and not the least merit of the book is that it never makes us wonder, as certain contemporary criticism sometimes does, whether the subject of the book would have understood the language of his critic.

But Professor Hytier has not merely presented Valéry's thought clearly and sympathetically; he has also dealt courageously with the contradictions, real or apparent, which it presents. Likewise he does not hesitate to question some of Valéry's claims to originality; it is amusing to note that

the epigraph of the book, taken from Valéry, is: "Voici nos mythes, nos erreurs que nous eûmes tant de peine à dresser contre les précédentes." Professor Hytier shows that Valéry is often less out of line with traditional doctrine than he would have liked to think, and that he at times sets up a straw man as an opponent.

Lastly, Professor Hytier, whose own doctrine of poetry is in certain respects antithetic to Valéry's, does not hesitate, though with disarming discretion, to indicate at what points Valéry's doctrine fails to gain his adherence. The book is in spirit, if not in form, a dialogue. Valéry himself, who used the dialogue form frequently, considered it "la plus souple des formes d'expression." And Professor Hytier has written in his article on "The Refusals of Valéry" (*Yale French Studies*, Spring: Summer 1949): "In accordance with a desire Valéry has often expressed, it is then the reader who becomes the active character in this dialogue with the work. Each of us has within him a little, belligerent Socrates who may rightly come to grips with the princes of thought. This is encouraging, and it is pretty much the way we are tempted to treat the author of *Eupalinos*." So we have here a dialogue in which, to be sure, Valéry has the major role, but is accompanied by an attentive and courteous interlocutor, who questions, comments, criticizes, and occasionally, to the reader's delight, puts on the guise of "un démon irrespectueux."

In the introductory chapter, "À la recherche de Valéry," Professor Hytier considers Valéry's critical work and the difficulties it presents; the problems of chronology, of contradictions, of Valéry's personal attitude towards poetry. At the end of the chapter he says that he has tried to adopt an organization based upon the relationships which Valéry himself set up between the elements of his subject, in order to give as faithful a picture as possible of his poetic creed. First come the ideas on the nature of poetry, then those on poetic creation. The two cannot, of course, be separated completely, and certain of Valéry's "idées fixes" recur in many different settings. (For this reason particularly, an index would have been a useful and valuable addition to the book.) It would be impossible to present, within the limits of a review, the wealth of ideas which the book contains, and an attempt to do so would result in just that oversimplification which Professor Hytier so successfully avoids. I can indicate only the main lines of his development, regretfully sacrificing many an "effet," and pausing only here and there on certain passages that seem to me of particular interest.

In the first of the chapters on the nature of poetry, "L'Intelligence et les choses vagues," one of Professor Hytier's particular concerns is to show that, although the role of intelligence in poetry is for Valéry a major one, he nevertheless found the basis of poetry in *sensibilité*, guided and controlled, to be sure, by intelligence. And, while he reduces the share of emotion in poetic creation to a strict minimum, he is forced to admit the

role of "l'indéfinissable" at every stage. However poetry was for him above all "un art du langage," and this is the subject of the next chapter. In it we come to one of the great, perhaps the greatest problem of poetry, the relations of form and matter, sound and sense. There are, Professor Hytier says, two families of poets, "ceux qui s'efforcent de conserver intacte leur pensée, et ceux qui la modèlent sur les chances que leur offrent les hasards de la formulation" (pages 77-78). Valéry belongs, of course, to the second. He declared that he had subordinated matter to form, and found in the latter the origin of works of art. "Les belles œuvres sont filles de leur forme, qui naît avant elles," he says in *Choses tues*. On the more limited problem, the relation of sound to sense, he constantly insisted on the equality and inseparability of the two elements, on a "symbiose du son et du sens."

The discussion of form and matter, sound and sense, is continued in the next chapter, "Obscurité et poésie absolue." Up to this point Professor Hytier has above all presented Valéry's ideas; here he speaks for himself, in some of the most admirable and suggestive pages on the subject I have ever read, which deserve to be pondered by all students and lovers of poetry. The "meaning" of a poem cannot be rendered by a translation into prose. "Comprendre le sens d'un poème, ce n'est pas l'appauvrir dans un procès-verbal qui le prive de toutes ses résonances; c'est, au contraire, multiplier les retentissements psychologiques qu'il implique et qu'il concentre dans sa miraculeuse densité. C'est pourquoi l'analyse des poètes est proprement infinie. Valéry a parfaitement raison de soutenir qu'on ne peut pas résumer un poème. Il aurait peut-être dû adjuter qu'on peut le développer. La sensibilité poétique de l'amateur, quand elle existe à un degré assez élevé, répond à l'extrême condensation des intentions du poète par l'instantanéité d'une extrême multiplicité d'impressions. Analyser un poème, ce n'est que débrouiller et étaler cette richesse" (page 90). At the same time the possibilities are not infinite; the meaning evolves within a certain zone. "Dans un poème, il y a du sens plutôt qu'un sens." And Professor Hytier continues: "Un poème, à mon avis, est un appel au sentiment du lecteur, et même une succession d'appels." Hence the poem is "understood," not by the intelligence but through the "jeu d'impressions qu'il suscite." So Professor Hytier concludes: "Si vous ne comprenez pas un poème, apprenez-le par cœur. Et j'ajouterais: les bons poèmes s'apprennent tout seuls."

An excellent analysis of Valéry's conception of poetic obscurity and his notion of "poésie pure" or "poésie absolue" concludes the discussion of the nature of poetry. In these chapters Professor Hytier has above all elucidated Valéry's ideas, shown how certain contradictions can be resolved, and indicated discreetly that at many points Valéry diverges less from his predecessors than he would like us to think. In the following chapters, which are concerned with the problems of poetic creation, the dialogue

between Valéry and his critic becomes more animated, and certain basic differences in their ideas emerge.

At the beginning of Chapter V, "Inspiration et travail," Professor Hytier sets forth briefly his own poetic doctrine, developed much earlier in *Le Plaisir poétique* (1923) and in the section on poetry (first published in 1926) of *Les Arts de littérature* (1945). For him, the study of the nature of an art is the task of the esthetician, the study of artistic creation (and also of the effects of art), that of the psychologist. The problem of the transmission of art belongs rather to the domain of the sociologist. Poetry is the least simple of all the arts; it produces two kinds of pleasure, the one properly poetic, the other esthetic. "On peut dire que dans le poème le maximum d'art est mis au service d'une inspiration dont le but n'est qu'accessoirement artistique, dont la visée essentielle est la création d'un état de sentiment auquel l'art est à peu près indifférent. On ferait peut-être sentir cette condition étrange en disant que dans l'œuvre poétique, c'est seulement le poème qui est beau, mais que la poésie se contente d'y être poétique" (page 126). As Professor Hytier says, this conception is entirely contrary to that of Valéry, who made no distinction between the poetic and the beautiful, and whose theory of poetry is far more esthetic than poetic.

Valéry is generally considered to be hostile to inspiration, the traditional point of departure of poetic creation, and to exalt rather the intellectual activity and conscious labor which go into the making of a poem. But Professor Hytier again avoids an oversimplification. Valéry, he says, is once more attacking the caricature of a theory, or at most an exceedingly naïve idea. For him, the question is not that of the reality of inspiration, but of its power to create, unaided, a *complete* work of art. Professor Hytier reminds us that Valéry's famous dictum, "l'enthousiasme n'est pas un état d'âme d'écrivain," is immediately preceded by the sentence, "je trouvais indigne, et je le trouve encore, d'écrire par le seul enthousiasme." Inspiration is necessary, but suspect, and, above all, insufficient in itself.

The next two chapters treat "La Composition" and "Le Problème de l'exécution." They are not, to my mind, quite as satisfactory as the rest of the book. For one thing, Valéry's ideas of "composition" varied considerably, and are far from easy to synthesize. Indeed some of his statements induce a reaction close to exasperation in Professor Hytier, as when he says of Valéry's denial of the validity of esthetic analysis, "Inutile de discuter cette thèse puérile." Moreover, Valéry's organization and terminology, which Professor Hytier follows scrupulously, are here particularly alien to his own thinking. In other cases he may differ from Valéry on the answer to a problem; here the very way in which the problem is set up is at issue. For Valéry, in theory at least, the production of a poem can be reduced to a series of simple successive operations, and the different moments of poetic creation can be clearly distinguished. It is with seeming regret

that he admits that "la composition est, en quelque manière, continue, et ne peut guère se cantonner dans un autre temps que celui de l'exécution." For Professor Hytier, on the other hand, poetic creation is organic rather than mechanical: "Le poète est un animal qui sait faire beaucoup de choses à la fois" (page 173).

It could be said, I think, that for Valéry "composition" takes over the traditional function of imagination. He condemned imagination as digression: "Il suffirait de ne pas imaginer pour avoir du génie." (It is curious to note how imagination, like inspiration, is defined and distrusted by Valéry in terms disquietingly reminiscent of the poetic theorists of the early eighteenth century.) Artistic creation is attained, not by liberty, but by limitation, especially by traditional conventions and rules; it proceeds arbitrarily from disorder to order. Poetic creation is for Valéry alien to the poetic nature, and in no way different from composition in the other arts. Professor Hytier sees in him a victim of the confusion between poetic and esthetic, and says: "A mon avis, la composition poétique est celle qui a pour loi l'adaptation des détails au thème sentimental qui les soutient. L'ordre de ces détails n'a que peu de rapport avec les exigences de l'intelligence."

The chapter on execution recalls again Valéry's insistence on creation by successive acts. This, Professor Hytier comments, can be only an ideal: "Le poète est bien un calculateur, mais, d'autre part, il ne sait ce qu'il fait." According to Valéry, the difficulties of execution are such that the production of a poetic work seems well-nigh impossible. But, as Professor Hytier says, all the same there are poems, doubtless because poets are less conscious of the difficulty than Valéry would wish.

The last two chapters of the book, on "La Théorie des effets," treat the most original part of Valéry's poetic doctrine. Professor Hytier has coordinated with great skill ideas scattered through Valéry's work, and presents in detail a conception already known to readers of the *Romanic Review* through his article, "La Théorie des effets dans la poétique de Valéry," published here in February, 1951. Professor Hytier distinguishes three categories of effects: "l'effet global"; "les effets spécifiques"; and "les effets particuliers." All these depend on execution, and lead to the "infini esthétique." Finally Valéry seems to deduce a certain number of laws governing this system of effects: "loi de localisation des effets"; "loi de propagation des effets"; "loi d'intensification des effets"; "loi de proportion." For Professor Hytier this constitutes the most audacious and suggestive part of Valéry's poetic doctrine.

The conclusion, as befits a dialogue, is not without dramatic effect. "Après tant de vues ingénieuses, que restait-il à faire de ce trésor d'effets? Il restait à l'abolir." For Valéry was forced to admit that isolated effects detracted from the effect of the poem as a whole, and should be sacrificed to the continuity of a single effect: "Le poème doit être une perpétuelle modulation, dont l'effet serait le charme continu" (page 297). So the final law

must be a "loi de l'amortissement ou de la dégradation des effets." Professor Hytier's last quotation from Valéry is, as he says, exceptional in its use of "termes émouvants, presque bergsoniens." Valéry writes of the poem which one repeats to oneself: "Il me semble que l'âme bien seule avec elle-même, et qui se parle, de temps à autre, entre deux silences absolus, n'emploie jamais qu'un petit nombre de mots et aucun d'extraordinaire. C'est à quoi l'on connaît qu'il y a âme en ce moment-là." Professor Hytier's own final word is a question: "Voilà à quoi aboutit l'ambitieux projet de réduire la poésie à une manœuvre scientifique de la sensibilité. 'L'âme bien seule avec elle-même, et qui se parle, de temps à autre . . .,' cette simplicité nue de la conscience écoutant sa mélodie sans souci de l'effet, Valéry s'est-il jamais approché de plus près que dans ce rare moment de parfaite humilité du secret de la création poétique?"

The book is one of the most admirable of its kind that I know. Professor Hytier wrote in "The Refusals of Valéry" that Valéry's critique of criticism "inevitably leads the mind back to a pure consideration of the work, with no thought for its connections." He has chosen to meet Valéry on his own ground, and one feels that Valéry could not but have approved the sobriety of the method and the elegance of the presentation. Professor Hytier has what Sainte-Beuve so much admired in Diderot, "cette faculté de *demi-métamorphose*, qui est le jeu et le triomphe de la critique, et qui consiste à se mettre à la place de l'auteur et au point de vue du sujet qu'on examine, à lire tout écrit *selon l'esprit qui l'a dicté*." Yet while entering fully into Valéry's thought and elucidating it for the reader, Professor Hytier maintains his own independence. The discreet dialogue makes it plain that his own poetic doctrine is often at variance with Valéry's. Yet the final judgment is left to the reader. And if many readers, like this reviewer, find themselves more drawn to Professor Hytier's poetic creed than to Valéry's, it will be due to no special pleading on Professor Hytier's part, but to the fairness, the lucidity and the poetic insight of his presentation.

MARGARET GILMAN

Bryn Mawr College

VOLUME XLIV: AUTHOR INDEX

- Arjona, J. H., The Case of Lope de Vega's *Amar, servir y esperar* (A Problem of Literary Relationships), 257-262
- Bagier, Victoria Charlotte, *Le Meunier d'Angibault, ou George Sand en 1844-1845* (Avec des documents inédits), 12-23
- Balakian, Anna, The Surrealist Image, 273-281
- Baym, Max I., *John Adams: Scholar* by A. Iacuzzi, 150-153
- Borgerhoff, E. B. O., *Agrippa d'Aubigné's Les Tragiques. A Study of the Baroque Style in Poetry* by I. Buffum, 60-63
- Chadbourne, Richard M., Renan and Sainte-Beuve, 127-135
- Demorest, J.-J., Pascal: *Pensées* edited by L. Lafuma, 145-146
- Edelman, Nathan, *Racine devant la critique française, 1833-1939* by A. A. Eustis, 146-150
- Fellows, Otis, *Stendhal et Helvétius: Les Sources de la philosophie de Stendhal* by J. C. Alciatore, 299-302
- Ferruolo, Arnolfo B., A Trend in Renaissance Thought and Art: Poliziano's *Stanze per la Giostra*, 246-256
- Frame, Donald M., *Les Belles Amies de Montaigne* by A. Nicolai, 293-295
- , *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le seizième siècle* edited by Mgr. G. Grente, 295-297
- Frankel, Charles, *Two Diderot Studies: Ethics and Esthetics* by L. G. Crocker, 222-224
- Frohoek, W. M., *Albert Thibaudet et la critique créatrice* by A. Glauser, 227-228
- Gilman, Margaret, *La Poétique de Valéry* by J. Hytier, 302-307
- Girard, René, L'Histoire dans l'œuvre de Saint-John Perse, 47-55
- Grant, Elliott M., *Hugo, l'homme et l'œuvre* by J.-B. Barrère, 153-154
- , "La Terre" d'Emile Zola: *Etude historique et critique* and *Emile Zola: Principes et caractères généraux de son œuvre* by G. Robert, 225-227
- , *Studies on Zola's Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*, 24-39
- Hill, Raymond T., and Thomas G. Bergin, Gaucelm Faidit: *A semblan del rei ties*, 81-88
- Hilton, Ronald, Pardo-Bazán and Literary Polemics about Feminism, 40-46
- Krause, Anna, Deciphering the Epistle—Preface to the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, 89-101
- Leefmans, Bert M.-P., Malraux and Tragedy: The Structure of *La Condition humaine*, 208-214
- May, Georges, Racine: *Œuvres complètes* edited by R. Picard, 216-219
- McLaren, James C., *Du temps perdu au temps retrouvé* by G. Brée, 70-72
- McPheeters, D. W., *Le Chansonnier espagnol d'Herberay des Essarts* by C. V. Aubrun, 136-139
- O'Brien, Justin, *Lettres à André Gide* by Marcel Proust, 157-158
- Parker, Jack Horace, Lope de Vega, the *Orfeo*, and the *Estilo Llano*, 3-11
- Peckham, Lawton P. G., *The Mirror of Love. A Reinterpretation of The Romance of the Rose* by A. M. F. Gunn, 56-60
- Peyre, Henri, *André Malraux and the Tragic Imagination* by W. M. Frohoek, 229-231
- Politzer, Robert L., *An den Quellen der romanischen Sprachen (Vermischte Beiträge zur romanischen Sprachwissenschaft und Volkskunde* by G. Rohlf, 232-234
- Riffaterre, Michel, La Durée de la valeur stylistique du néologisme, 282-289
- Rivers, Elias L., New Biographical Data on Francisco de Aldana, 166-184
- Robertson, D. W., Love Conventions in Marie's *Equitan*, 241-245
- Roudiez, Leon S., *Young La Fontaine* by P. A. Wadsworth, 215-216
- Schaffer, Aaron, Emile Deschamps and some of his Musical Collaborators (Unpublished Letters), 197-207
- Selig, Karl Ludwig, *Profilo della critica su Italo Svevo (1892-1951)* by B. Maier, 68-70
- Shearer, James F., *The Life of Sarmiento* by A. W. Bunkley, 154-157
- Shoemaker, W. H., *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro. Vol. III: Notes* edited by J. E. Gillet, 139-145
- Spitzer, Leo, A propos de la *Vie de Marianne* (Lettre à M. Georges Poulet), 102-126
- Switten, Marlou, Diderot's Theory of

- Language as the Medium of Literature, 185-196
- Torrey, Norman L., *Jean-Jacques (1758-1778): Grandeur et misère d'un esprit* by J. Guéhenno, 297-299
- , *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* by E. Cassirer, 63-68
- , *Voltaire's Notebooks* edited by T. Bestermann, 219-222
- Viggiani, Carl A., *Juste Olivier: Paris en 1830: Journal* edited by A. Delattre and M. Denking, 224-225
- , *Sainte-Beuve (1824-1830): Critic and Creator*, 263-272
- Williams, Harry F., *Gace Brulé, trouvère champenois: Edition critique des chansons et étude historique* by H. P. Dyggve, 290-293
- Woodbridge, Hensley C., *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica* by J. S. Díaz, 72-75


VOLUME XLIV: SUBJECT INDEX

- Adams, John, 150-153
- A la recherche du temps perdu, 70-72
- Alciatore, Jules C., *Stendhal et Helvétius: Les Sources de la philosophie de Stendhal* (review), 299-302
- Aldana, Francisco de, 166-184
- Amar, servir y esperar (Lope de Vega), 257-262
- Aubrun, Charles V., *Le Chansonnier espagnol d'Herberay des Essarts* (review), 136-139
- Baroque Poetry, 60-63
- Barrère, Jean-Bertrand, *Hugo, l'homme et l'œuvre* (review), 153-154
- Bergin, Thomas G., see Hill, Raymond T.
- Bestermann, Theodore, editor, *Voltaire's Notebooks* (review), 219-222
- Bibliography (Hispanic literature), 72-75
- Brée, Germaine, *Du temps perdu au temps retrouvé* (review), 70-72
- Buffum, Imbrie, *Agrippa d'Aubigné's Les Tragiques. A Study of the Baroque Style in Poetry* (review), 60-63
- Bunkley, Allison Williams, *The Life of Sarmiento* (review), 154-157
- Cassirer, Ernst, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (review), 63-68
- Comedia de Calisto y Melibea, La*, 89-101
- COMPARATIVE LITERATURE, 136-139, 150-153
- Condition humaine, La* (Malraux), 208-214
- Courtly love, 56-60, 241-245
- Crocker, Lester G., *Two Diderot Studies: Ethics and Esthetics* (review), 222-224
- d'Aubigné, Agrippa, 60-63
- Delattre, André and Marc Denking, editors, *Juste Olivier: Paris en 1830: Journal* (review), 224-225
- Denking, Marc, see Delattre, André
- Deschamps, Emile, 197-207
- Díaz, José Simon, *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica* (review), 72-75
- Diderot, 185-196, 222-224
- Dyggve, Holger Petersen, *Gace Brulé, trouvère champenois: Edition critique des chansons et étude historique* (review), 290-293
- Enlightenment, The, 63-68
- Esthetics, 102-126, 222-224
- Estilo llano*, 3-11
- Ethics, 222-224
- Eustis, Alvin A., *Racine devant la critique française, 1833-1939* (review), 146-150
- Exil, . . . Poèmes à l'Etrangère, Pluie, Neiges* (Saint-John Perse), 47-55
- Feminism, 40-46
- Foreign Language Program, 165
- FRENCH LITERATURE—
- MEDIEVAL, 56-60, 81-88, 241-245, 290-293
- XVI. CENTURY, 60-63, 136-139, 293-297
- XVII. CENTURY, 145-146, 146-150, 215-216, 216-219
- XVIII. CENTURY, 63-68, 102-126, 150-153, 185-196, 219-222, 222-224, 297-302
- XIX. CENTURY, 12-23, 24-39, 127-135, 146-150, 153-154, 197-207, 224-225, 225-227, 263-272
- XX. CENTURY, 47-55, 70-72, 146-150, 157-158, 208-214, 227-228, 229-231, 273-281

- Frohoek, W. M., *André Malraux and the Tragic Imagination* (review), 229-231
- Gace Brulé, 290-293
- Gaucelm Faidit, 81-88
- Gide, 157-158
- Gillet, Joseph E., editor, *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro* (review), 139-145
- Glauser, Alfred, *Albert Thibaudet et la critique créatrice* (review), 227-228
- Grente, Monseigneur Georges, editor, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le seizième siècle* (review), 295-297
- Guéhenno, Jean, *Jean-Jacques (1758-1778): Grandeur et misère d'un esprit* (review), 297-299
- Guillaume de Lorris, 56-60
- Gunn, Alan M. F., *The Mirror of Love. A Reinterpretation of The Romance of the Rose* (review), 46-60
- Helvétius, 299-302
- Herberay des Essarts, 136-139
- HISPANIC LITERATURE, 3-11, 40-46, 72-75, 89-101, 136-139, 139-145, 154-157, 166-184, 257-262
- Hugo, 153-154
- Hytier, Jean, *La Poétique de Valéry* (review), 302-307
- Iacuzzi, Alfred, *John Adams: Scholar* (review), 150-153
- ITALIAN LITERATURE, 68-70, 246-256
- Jáuregui, Juan de, 3-11
- Jean de Meun, 56-60
- La Fontaine, 215-216
- Lafuma, Louis, editor, Pascal: *Pensées* (review), 145-146
- Lais* (Marie de France), 241-245
- LINGUISTICS, 81-88, 139-145, 232-234, 282-289
- Literary Criticism, 127-135, 146-150, 227-228, 263-272
- Lope de Vega, 3-11, 257-262
- Maier, Bruno, *Profilo della critica su Italo Svevo (1892-1951)* (review), 68-70
- Malraux, André, 208-214, 229-231
- Marie de France, 241-245
- Marivaux, 102-126
- Meunier d'Angibault, Le* (George Sand), 12-23
- Montaigne, 293-295
- Neologism, 282-289
- Nicolai, Alexandre, *Les Belles Amies de Montaigne* (review), 293-295
- Olivier, Juste, 224-225
- Orfeo en lengua castellana*, 3-11
- Pardo-Bazán, Emilia, 40-46
- Pascal, 145-146
- Pensées* (Pascal), 145-146
- Philosophy, 18th Century, 63-68
- Picard, Raymond, editor, Racine: *Œuvres complètes* (review), 216-219
- Poliziano, Angelo, 246-256
- Poulet, Georges, 102-126
- Proust, 70-72, 157-158
- Provençal Poetry, 81-88
- Racine, Jean, 146-150, 216-219
- Renaissance (Italy), 246-256
- Renan, 127-135
- Robert, Guy, "La Terre" d'Emile Zola: *Etude historique et critique* (review), 225-227
- , *Emile Zola: Principes et caractères généraux de son œuvre* (review), 225-227
- Rohlf, Gerhard, *An den Quellen der romanischen Sprachen (Vermischte Beiträge zur romanischen Sprachwissenschaft und Volkskunde)* (review), 232-234
- Rojas, Fernando de, 89-101
- Roman de la Rose, Le*, 56-60
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 297-299
- Sainte-Beuve, 127-135, 263-272
- Saint-John Perse, 47-55
- Sand, George, 12-23
- Sarmiento, 154-157
- Son Excellence Eugène Rougon* (Zola), 24-39
- Stanze per la Giostra* (Poliziano), 246-256
- Stendhal, 299-302
- Stylistics, 282-289
- Surrealist Poetry, 273-281
- Svevo, Italo, 68-70
- Thibaudet, Albert, 227-228
- Torres Naharro, Bartolomé de, 139-145
- Tragiques, Les* (d'Aubigné), 60-63
- Valéry, 302-307
- Vie de Marianne, La* (Marivaux), 102-126
- Voltaire, 219-222
- Wadsworth, Philip A., *Young La Fontaine* (review), 215-216
- Zola, 24-39, 225-227

C51

0	E	E	E	□
1	3	2	8	
2	5	3	2	
3	2	3	5	
4	5	3	8	
5	5	5	5	
6	3	5	8	



0	E	E	E	□
1	3	2	8	
2	5	3	2	
3	2	3	5	
4	5	3	8	
5	5	5	5	
6	3	5	8	

